



The Antiquary.



DECEMBER, 1888.

Temples of Athena.

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THE foundations of a temple of the pre-Persian period have now been brought to light between the Parthenon and the Erechtheum, lying partly beneath the Caryatid portico of the latter. This was the original Temple of Athena, extended probably by Peisistratos, in which, according to Herodotus, the Athenians remaining in the citadel vainly sought refuge from the Persians. It appears, therefore, that the new Parthenon, planned by Kimon, and built on a smaller scale under the auspices of Perikles, does not stand on the site of the older building. This discovery has suggested a solution of the difficulty as to the placing of the public treasure. Not only the valuables belonging to Athena, but also those of other deities, were placed under the guardianship of the goddess, who is shown by inscriptions to have acted as a banker for the State. Till quite recently it was supposed that these treasures were deposited in the existing Parthenon, though it was difficult to assign any part of it to such purpose. On this subject much ink has been vainly shed. It may be a consolation to those who maintained the respective claims of the various subdivisions of the temple, to know that all were equally at fault if Dr. Dörpfeld has demonstrated that the treasury consisted of a portion of the older building. In the plan published in the first part of the *Denkmäler*, which now takes the place of the *Monumenti*, two chambers in the middle of the building are assigned to the treasury.

The orientation of Greek temples is noted. XVIII.

riously erratic.* This older Temple of Athena, however, lies far more nearly east and west than the Parthenon, though less so than the Erechtheum.*

The views of Dörpfeld as to this ancient Temple of Athena and the Parthenon, partly built under Kimon, may be condensed as follows from the *Mittheilungen* of the Institute at Athens (X., XI., and XII.):

The drums of columns of Pentelic marble built into the wall of the Acropolis do not belong to the same building as the entablature of *póros*, or peiraic, limestone also found in the wall; for the former are not finished, while the latter is not only completely worked but also painted.

The substructions of the Parthenon belong to the period of the south wall of the Acropolis, which, according to the universal testimony of the ancients, was built by Kimon.

Between the Parthenon and the Erechtheum is an area twenty-two metres broad and forty-five long, consisting of several strong walls with earth filling the spaces between them. In these walls may be recognised the remains of a large peripteral temple, adjoining the Temple of Erechtheus.

As to Kimon's temple, its building was interrupted by his own banishment and the troubles of his country. When the treasure of the allies was removed from Delos to Athens, Perikles undertook the work afresh, and carried it to a successful conclusion.

Hitherto we have had only one idea as to the Acropolis in pre-Persian times, viz., that the Parthenon of Peisistratos stood on the site of the present Parthenon. This one idea is false. The original form of the Acropolis was that of a long ridge of rock with many clefts, and easy access only on the south-western side.

The recent excavations have established the fact that Kimon actually executed a much larger portion of his plan than had hitherto been supposed. The ruins of buildings, statues, and votive offerings destroyed by the Persians were used by him for the foundations of the Parthenon and for the walls of the Acropolis. It was Kimon, apparently, who built the north-western part of the wall between the Erechtheum and the Propylæa. The old materials employed were often re-

* But see *Nissen Rhein. Mus.*, XL. (1885), p. 39.

worked. But the entablature built into this wall—epistyle, triglyph, metope, and cornice—all were arranged exactly as in the old temple, so as not only to serve as ornament, but to remind the Athenians for all time of the wars with Persia.

The eastern part of the wall was later, for marble drums of columns have been found in it, and a different style of building. Materials not fit for this purpose, as damaged statues, inscriptions, pedestals, etc., were used for filling up hollows and forming a level. When a course or two of the north wall had been built, the space behind was filled in with a heterogeneous mass of stones. Above this was spread a layer of earth to give the builders a better platform to work on. During the progress of the work, this earth-layer in its turn became covered with a thin coating of poros splinters. These successive strata are plainly marked. Beneath them and resting immediately on the rock is found in many spots the original soil of varying thickness, which must have been there before the Persian War. In this are found many fragments of early vases. Curiously enough, two graves of very young children were found in this deposit, to the north-west of the Erechtheum.*

In the deeper hollows of the rock some ancient house-walls have been discovered resembling those at Tiryns and Mykenæ.

On the Acropolis have been found no fewer than seven distinct marble cornices belonging to the pre-Persian buildings. Their ornament in some cases consisted merely of colour, in others low-relief was also employed. Since many pieces of the same cornice are found in totally different places, no hasty conclusion as to the original position of a monument on the Acropolis should be drawn from the place of its discovery.

The ancient Temple of Athena, destroyed by the Persians, was peripteral. The wall—some seven feet thick—on which the columns once stood, still remains, but no longer bears any trace of them. Within is a quadrangle divided into compartments. To the east is the Pronaos, then the Cella with its nave and two aisles, the special place of worship. On the west we find a Pronaos and the Opistho-

damos, with two adjacent chambers. This arrangement differs from that of the Parthenon, where these chambers do not exist, the Opisthodamos forming a single large hall.

The columns were of poros, six in the front and twelve on the sides. The entablature was also of poros, except the metopes, which were of marble. The stone was covered with stucco. As to the archaic Athena and the other pedimental sculptures in Parian marble, we may refer to Studniczka in the *Mittheilungen*, vol. xi.

The roof was of marble. The temple had only one step instead of the usual three.* The difference between the horizontal cornice of the sides and the sloping cornice of the pediment, shows that they are not of the same date, the sloping roof being later. As to internal construction we have not such certain data. The foundation of the external colonnade corresponds in material and construction to those of the Temple of the Olympian Zeus at Athens and the older Temple at Eleusis. It may, therefore, be ascribed to Peisistratos, though the central portion of the building is probably earlier.

Thus far we may safely follow the distinguished German architect. His further account of the history of the temple† has not passed unchallenged. It is to the following effect: A comparison of two Homeric passages (Od., vii. 80, 81, and II., ii. 546-551), proves that besides a temple of Erechtheus, there existed on the Acropolis in early times a temple of Athena. To this temple an external colonnade was added by Peisistratos. This colonnade was never restored after its destruction by the Persians; but the body of the temple was rebuilt and used as a place of worship and a treasury. In B.C. 454 the treasure of the allies was deposited here in the Opisthodamos, in the southern chamber of which lay the treasures of Athena, while those of the other deities were subsequently placed in the northern.

In 406, according to Xenophon (*Hellenika* i. 6) "the old temple of Athena" (ἡ παλαιὰ ναὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς) was burnt. Dörpfeld considers that the expression "old" could not refer to the new Erechtheum, which was

* The Heraion at Olympia and the Temple of Athena at Assos had two.

† *Mith.*, xii. (1887).

* So at Hissarlik the remains of a six months' child.

certainly not finished before 408. He knows of no instance in which the Greeks failed to rebuild a temple that had been injured by fire. When inscriptions of the fourth century mention the "ancient temple" (ἀρχαῖος ναός) he considers them to refer to the temple, the foundations of which he has discovered, and not to the Erechtheum. He finds an allusion to the ancient temple as late as Pausanias. Ultimately he thinks either the Byzantines used its materials in converting the Parthenon and the Erechtheum into churches, or its destruction did not take place till the middle ages.

To this Petersen replies, in the same volume, that the two Homeric passages refer to the same building, at once a temple of Athena and the house (or temple) of Erechtheus. Near this, at a later time, was built a new temple for Athena, apart from Poseidon, who shared the older sanctuary. Compared with this new temple the Erechtheum got the name of "old," which was retained even after the rebuilding in 409-8. The argument then rests on various inscriptions, in one of which (C.I.A. ii. 464) the letter τ is followed by a lacuna, in which twenty-five letters have to be supplied by conjecture. The possibilities of such a case can be best appreciated by a mathematician with a turn for epigraphy.

Petersen proceeds to cite Strabo (396) as naming only two temples of Athena on the Acropolis, viz., "the ancient temple of the Polias, in which is the ever-burning lamp" (i.e., the Erechtheum), and the Parthenon of Iktinos.

Petersen argues that the superiority of the foundation of the colonnade does not show that the body of the building was earlier, but was due to necessity for better material and better construction, supposing the outer wall had to support earth within, while it stood free on the outside. Dörpfeld, however, declares this supposition unfounded. Again, in the question of space for storing the treasure, the unprofessional critic must give way to the architect.

The line of Aristophanes quoted by Petersen as to Plutus—

τὸν ὀπισθοδόμον ἀειφυλάττων τῆς θεοῦ*

* *Plutus*, 1193.

proves nothing, as both temples equally possessed an Opisthodomos of the goddess.

In the same volume follows an examination of the question, so far as concerns Pausanias, by Konrad Wernicke, whose studies in this special direction entitle him to speak with authority. He objects to Dörpfeld's assumption of a great lacuna in the text and to his identification of Athena Polias and Athena Ergane. According to Wernicke, Pausanias affords no proof as to the continued existence of the temple in question in the time of the Roman Empire. It would seem, however, that he does not accept Petersen's criticism as definitely negating the survival of the temple alongside of the Parthenon. These views of Wernicke we may, perhaps, safely adopt.

In his rejoinder* Dörpfeld, by comparing Aristophanes, *Aves*, 826, with *Thesmophoriazusa*, 1136, seeks to show that the Athena Parthenos was at the same time the Polias.

Such is the case as it now stands. Many may be inclined to give a verdict of "not proven," or to await the production of more definite evidence. It is indeed natural to suppose that the Athenians would temporarily restore some portions of their shrines to give shelter to the sacred objects that escaped the Persian iconoclasts. That they should have rebuilt a large temple either when hastily completing their outer defences, or when meditating the erection of a nobler structure, seems at least unlikely. That in the last years of the Peloponnesian war, with their treasury empty, they should again have restored this temple, beside the Parthenon and the newly completed Erechtheum, is almost incredible.

On the other hand, it is hardly likely that Kimon would have undertaken the vast task of piling up an artificial platform for the Parthenon if an unoccupied site had lain ready to his hand a few yards further north. The Parthenon might, then, have been rebuilt on a site to a great extent conterminous with that of the old temple, just as, at a later time, part of the ruined colonnade of that temple was absorbed by the building of the Erechtheum.

If we may venture to express an opinion,

* *Mith.*, xii., pp. 190-211.

we would suggest that the Athenians repaired the more solid portions that had best resisted barbarian violence, but did not wholly rebuild the temple. Otherwise it would be strange that the various parts of the original building should be forthcoming; but so little that could possibly be assigned to its successor, especially if that successor had been restored, and had continued down to Byzantine or mediæval times. Dr. Dörpfeld himself says* that the original entablature was built into a wall in such a way as to preserve the memory of the Persian wars; and the same principle may well have been applied to the parts of the temple remaining *in situ*. That down to the time of Herodotus walls were to be seen "scorched with fire by the Mede" is expressly stated by the historian.† The central chambers, however, marked D and E on Dörpfeld's plan in the *Denkmäler* may have been restored with the Opisthodomos, so far as to serve as bullion vaults. The language of C.I.A. i. 32 (τα[μεινείσθω τὰ μ] [ἐν τῇς Ἀθην]αίας χρήματα [ἐν τῷ] ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ τοῦ ὀπισθοδομοῦ, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θ)ῶν ἐν τῷ ἐπ' ἀρ[ιστερ]ᾷ) seems to point to such distinct chambers right and left of the Opisthodomos rather than to the large single hall forming the Opisthodomos of the Parthenon.



The Church Bells of Essex.

WHEN some few years since our lamented friend Mr. Thos. North, F.S.A., of Llanfairfechan, asked me to assist him in obtaining rubbings and squeezes of the marks and inscriptions which are to be found upon some of the bells contained in the towers and cots of the old churches in Essex, I little thought that the work would prove so interesting, or that the hand of death would so soon call away that competent authority who has done so much to render the subject of our church

* *Mith.*, xi., p. 166.

† v. 77. *τείχος* is usually a wall of fortification as opposed to *τοίχος*, a house-wall. But public buildings differed from ordinary houses in having walls of stone.

bells interesting and familiar, and so graphically brought home to us the lessons that they teach. To the vast majority of people in this nineteenth century, it is more than probable that the bell is merely an instrument for producing sound; but if they read the works of Mr. North and Mr. Stahlsmidt, they will find that it is a very great deal more. Unfortunately the illness and death of Mr. North rendered the work futile, and what the bells of Essex may have to teach us is yet unknown, for they still await the advent of a historian. The mention of bells occurs in some of the oldest historical records which have been handed down to us; we are told that the mules employed at the funeral of Alexander the Great had every one of them a gold bell attached to each jaw. It does not, however, appear that bells were brought into use for the purpose of calling congregations together for Christian worship until the third or fourth century; although it is related that one was put up at the gate of the Temple of Jupiter in Rome to call the people to the dark rites of heathen worship. Whether it was from such a practice among the heathen that the Christians were led to adopt the use of bells for a similar purpose may be uncertain, but most probably it was so, and it would seem clear that they were used in England from the period of the first erection of our parish churches. And it is evident that they at once obtained a great deal of popularity, for as early as the ninth century there were already many bells cast of a large size and deep tone. It is possible that the honour of having had the first large peal of bells known in England belongs to Croyland Abbey, in Lincolnshire. According to Ingulphus, "the Abbot of Croyland gave to that church a peal of six bells," and he goes on to say that "there was not such a ring of bells in England." This statement clearly implies that there were then smaller peals of bells wherewith to compare it. Ever since bells have been made of any considerable weight, it has been customary to place inscriptions on them in letters cast with the bell, and so being part of itself. These inscriptions often give great interest and character to the bells which bear them, and make them something more to the intelligent observer than mere "instruments of sounding brass." Every bell, it is true, has a

tongue, and can speak for itself into the ears of the listeners; but it has also a tale reserved for those only who will pay a visit to it in its airy habitation. It was the custom in early times to dedicate bells to the service of God, with solemn rites, similar to those used in the consecration of a church; at which dedication they were often named after some saint, and the sole inscription on many ancient bells is the name of that saint. Thus the four bells at Margaretting are dedicated to the Evangelists; the smallest, probably cast about the end of the fourteenth century, bears the words "Sancte Johanne." Persons who gave or bequeathed bells often had the name of the saint after whom they themselves were baptized given to the bell. Sometimes we find a bell bearing the name of the saint to whom the church is dedicated; and when in one church there were several altars dedicated in honour of different saints, each would have its own bell named after its own saint, to be sounded for the mass at that particular altar. Sometimes the bell is represented as calling itself by, or referring to its own name, as at Ardleigh, where the sixth bell, cast about 1450, by one of the family of Brasyer, of Norwich, is thus inscribed:

Sum Rosa pulsata mundi Maria vocata.

One of the pious customs of our forefathers was to ring night and morning a bell, at the sound of which the people said the Angelic Salutation, repeating the words of the Angel Gabriel in thankful praise to God for sending His Son to be born for us. There was generally a bell for this purpose, called "Gabriel," and several of these remain. At Aythorpe Roothing there are three very ancient bells, and one is thus inscribed:

De celis missi nomen habeo Gabrielis.

The others bear the following inscription:

Virgini atqui matri resonat campana Marie,
and:

Huic fratris Simonis Andrei nomen habet.

At Upminster one of the three bells is inscribed:

Sancte Gabriell ora pro nobis.

Probably the most frequent inscription found upon ancient bells is an invocation addressed to the favourite saint of its donor. Thus, in the beautiful brick tower of the Bil-

lericay Chantry Chapel, erected during the reign of Edward IV. by a member of the Sulyard family, the sole remaining bell bears the following inscription:

Sancte Katerina ora pro nobis.

Thomas — de Hedenham me fecit,

although the chapel itself is dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen. In Great Burstead, four out of the five bells have been recast, but the fifth bears the date 1436, and the inscription:

Vox Augustine sonet in aure Dei.

At Good Easter is a bell inscribed:

✠ O ✠ Sancte ✠ Thoma ✠ ora ✠ pro ✠ nobis ;

at Mountnessing we find:

✠ Sancti ✠ Jacobi ✠ ora ✠ pro ✠ nobis,

and at Stambourne, once again:

✠ O ✠ Sancte ✠ Thoma ✠ ora ✠ pro ✠ nobis ✠.

It was commonly believed in ancient times that storms and tempests were the work of evil spirits, and that the ringing of church bells would put them to flight. This idea probably originated in some heathen practice, for similar customs and notions exist among the heathens of Africa, India, etc., who try to drive away devils by the sound of the tomtom or gong. However it may have first arisen in this country, it seems to have been fully recognised by the Church, one of the bells in Stoneleigh Church, Warwickshire, being inscribed:

Voce mea viva depello cuncta nociva;

while from one of our Essex churches I obtained:

Tu Petre pulsatus perversos mitiga flatus.

Like most work which has come down to us from pre-Reformation days, the inscriptions are generally executed with the greatest care and skill, in beautiful letters, and with various elegant ornaments. Each inscription has generally an ornamental cross prefixed to it; and we often find shields and other trade-marks, as used by the various founders, who but rarely inscribed their names in full. Now and then human figures are represented, such as the Blessed Virgin with the Holy Infant in her arms, and a lily in a pot standing beside her. Occasionally we find mistakes, which render the word difficult to decipher. Letters will be found put upside down, or a word

will be divided, as if into two; while other words will be run together, and so on. At Althorne is, I think, the following curious blunder:

An el ehat cnas.

This read the right way is simply "Sancta Helena."

During the disturbances that attended the Reformation, church bells shared the general fate of other church furniture, and hundreds were sold and melted up, it being considered sufficient that there should be one bell in each church to call the people to service. Happily this plunder was not universal, although it was very general. Out of three hundred and ninety old churches in Essex, ninety-eight have but one bell now remaining. When times became more settled, under the long and prosperous rule of Queen Elizabeth, people began to long to hear the church bells as before; and towards the end of her reign a new period of bell-founding set in. So among the thirteen hundred and twenty bells (or thereabouts) contained in these three hundred and ninety Essex churches, we find that the greater portion of them have been cast between 1580 and 1780. Bells of this period are generally easy enough to recognise. In the first place, unlike the ancient bells, they almost always have dates upon them; they more frequently bear their founder's name. We very rarely find addresses or allusions to the saints, or anything which would have generally been considered superstitious. Indeed, we much fear that the "greediness of metal," when the bells were being so generally recast in the early part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, evoked a very loose interpretation of the injunction of 1547, and so consigned to the melting-pot many invaluable monumental brasses. Still, the inscriptions of this date are usually of a religious character, though the cross is more conspicuous by its absence. From the time of Elizabeth to the period of the great rebellion under Cromwell, there does not appear to be any very marked change in the style of inscription, unless it be that they become less and less frequently of a religious character, and more frequently in English than in Latin. Probably the oldest bells remaining now in Essex are those at Little Braxted, Little Wakering, Billericay, Great Burstead, Ardleigh, Ay-

thorpe Roothing, Margaretting, and, perhaps, the single bell hanging in the detached tower of the little church at Wix. In the present paper we have gained no certain footing, and await with somewhat of impatience the time when Mr. Stahlsmidt, or some other competent authority, will tell us the story of the Bells of Essex. To the accomplishment of so desirable an object, we can have little doubt but that Mr. W. H. King, the learned Honorary Secretary to the Essex Archaeological Society, would lend his most valuable assistance, bringing to bear upon the subject his vast knowledge of the contents of many hundreds of early Essex wills, in themselves a fruitful mine of reliable information. When this is done, perhaps some generous benefactors may come forward to increase the far too scanty number of peals of eight bells, which are generally and probably rightly regarded as being the most complete, musical, and pleasing to the ear, and of which the county possesses only sixteen sets in its ancient belfry towers; while no less than sixty have but two bells, thus showing that, with the ninety-eight churches containing only one bell, no less than one hundred and fifty-eight of our Essex parish churches have but two hundred and eighteen bells among them, a state of affairs anything but creditable to so rich and populous a county.

J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY.



On Certain Points in Syrian Geography.

BY WILLIAM FRANCIS AINSWORTH, F.S.A.,
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THE Rev. C. J. Ball, in an erudite essay on "Iranian Names among the Hetta-Hattè," or Hittites, published in *The Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. x., part 8, remarks (p. 430) "that it is not impossible that Gargamis may be a foreign pronunciation of the word which appears in Greek as *pergamus*, with the meaning 'citadel' (e.g., of Troy), and as a proper name, like the German Burg and our Bury."

The same suggestion has been made in regard to the name Car'chemish, in an article under that heading in the *Bible Dictionary* (Cassell, Petter and Galpin), and recorded in my *Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i., p. 237, wherein it is suggested as an Aryan (Iranian) termination, and a dialectic variation of Pergamus "a fortress." "Others," it is added, "explain the word as 'the stronghold of Chemosh,' 'the sun or fire,' an epithet which would be repeated in the word 'Hieropolis.'"

"In that case," continues the Rev. C. J. Ball, "the Hebrew Car'chemish might be a Semitic adaptation, suggestive of a 'castle,' 'citadel,' the whole denoting, perhaps, 'castle of Mish,' or 'Mash.'"

"Stephen of Byzantium states that Oropus, the modern Gerābis, was formerly called Telmēssus, or Telmissus; and G. Hoffmann has remarked upon this: 'Es liegt nahe Telmessus (auch Telmissus), zu setzen;' but his note, which mentions that towns in Lycia and Caria, and a river in Sicily, were also called Telmessus, destroys the plausibility of this suggestion. The name is probably Aryan, like Trymnessus, Lyrnessus, Termessus. Moreover, it still remains to be proven that *Gerābis* is the site of Carchemish; and the Egyptian spellings Qarqamesha, Karkamasha (Professor Maspero gives Qarqamisha, *De Carchemis Oppidi Sitū*, Paris, 1872), and Golenischeff, Karkamāsha, *Leitschr. Aeg. Spr.*, 1882, p. 146), rather suggest that the Semitized form of the name indicated 'town or fort of Chemosh.' Compare the Assyrian 'Kar-Dadda, Kar-Salmanussir.'

"Tiglath-Pileser I. actually writes Kargamis, not Gargamis. Professor Sayce has suggested a comparison of the ethnic name Gangumai with the second element in the term Kargamis. This may be right, and if so, the name is certainly Aryan, for Gangumai (Gangumā'a) may be traced to the R. gham, 'earth,' from which springs the primitive ghaman, 'man,' strictly *gegenēs*, as seen in the Latin homo, homini-s, human-u-s; Gothic, guma, stem guman, 'man;' old Norse, gumi; old High German, gomo, como; new High German, gam in Brautigam. Like so many other ancient tribes, therefore, the Gangumā'a called themselves, in proud self-consciousness, 'men.'

"If Kummukh-Commagene be not a growth from the same root, I would refer it to the root *Kam*, whence we have Zend *Kāma*, 'wish,' 'desire.' Huzu, Kamak, Armen, Kamim, 'to love,' Kamk, 'desire;' a root to which Lassen has referred the Cappadocian Komana (*Z. D. M. G. x. 377*). The final *k* is a common Persian and Armenian suffix; of Kamirk, the Armenian name of Cappadocia (= Gomer, Gamer of Gen. x.).

"The old Persian personal names Artakamas, Artakama, Abrokomas, which also involve the root *kam*, 'to love,' suggest the same connection for Karkamash; but cf. Armen. gargam gargami, 'bent,' 'curved.' The town may have lain on a bend in the river, or have been crescent-shaped.

"Now, the first is precisely what occurs in the case of Karkisha, looked upon as one of the Car'chemishes, whilst Mambej, looked upon as another, is not on the banks of a river, nor is it in any way crescent-shaped. I never heard the name of Gerābis or Jerābis given by the natives to Mambej, or to Kara-Mambej, its port on the Euphrates; but it is quite possible that such a name may have been found by recent travellers attached to the first-named site. If so, I should certainly look upon it as an Arabic rendering for Hieropolis, just as we find Yerabulus or Gerabulus used to designate the site of Europus, not far distant on the Euphrates, and which conversion of name led Lord Pollington from the apparent derivation of the name Yerabulus, or Gerabulus, from Hieropolis, to believe that this was the site of that renowned Syrian city; but, he justly added, that it is possible that the names of two ruined cities, so near each other, may have been confounded."—*Journal of Royal Geographical Society*, vol. x., p. 453.

But there seems scarcely any need for such a suggestion, for the Rev. C. J. Ball himself tells us that "Stephen of Byzance states that Oropus, the modern Gerābis, was formerly called Telmēssus, or Telmissus." Now, Oropus was the name of a town in Macedonia, which was the home, if not the birthplace, of Seleucus Nicanor, and this Nicanor gave the same name to a town built by him near Amphipolis. This Oropus is also noticed in connection with Amphipolis by Appianus, in *Syriacis*, p. 201.

There can be no question as to the site of Amphipolis, for Pliny distinctly tells us that "Europum (Oropum?) Thapsacum quondam, nunc Amphipolis" (Lib. v. cap. xxiv.).

The same Nicanor gave the name of his early home to other towns, as Thesprotia and Nicopolis (Thucyd., Lib. 1), and the latter, according to Stephen, not of Byzance, but of Geneva, was also called Telmissus.

Now, there were several towns that received the name of Nicopolis, or "City of Victory," in olden times, as there were several towns with the names of Oropus and Telmissus.

There was a Nicopolis in Egypt, in Armenia, in Lydia, in Phrygia, in Palestine, and in Cilicia. The latter was also known as *sub Tauro Monte*, and Stephen of Byzance tells us, on the authority of Arrian, that Issus was so called in honour of the great victory obtained by Alexander over Darius. Strabo and Ptolemy, however, make the two to be distinct sites, and I have been led by other considerations, more especially from Nicopolis being situated at the point whence the road started, which led across the northern or Darius pass of the Amanus (see *Personal Narrative of Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i. p. 116), to prefer supposing that the stronghold of Epiphanæa received the name of Nicopolis rather than Yusler, or Issus, on the Pinarus. But whether this Nicopolis was the one alluded to by Stephanus, as previously called Telmissus, it is difficult to say. The towns of that name in Caria and Lycia may, however, be fairly dismissed from the discussion. The Telmissus of Pisidia was more commonly written Termissus (see *Not. Orbis Antig. Cellarius*, p. 169), where, however, the presence of a tel, tell, or tumulus is particularly alluded to. Cellarius also considers it by error that the Telmissus noticed by Arrian, in the first book of the *Expedition of Alexander*, has been identified with this Telmissus: "Quod malo in auctore hoc, ut insignem errorem," he indignantly remarks.

The question then remains whether the Oropus previously known as Telmissus was the Oropus or Europus near Amphipolis, or the Oropus, afterwards called Nicopolis, in Cilicia. There is no evidence that the first was ever called Nicopolis or Telmissus. There is the evidence of Thucydides that Nicanor built a town called Oropus at Ni-

copolis; but if this is identified with the Cilician Nicopolis, there is no evidence that this was ever called Telmissus, unless we suppose, as is most likely the case, that that is the place meant by Arrian in his account of the expedition of Alexander. It is curious that we have the ancient site of Mopsi-Hestia, "the abode of Mopsus," with a remarkable tell, or mound, close by Nicopolis of Cilicia. This place, called at various times Seleucia, Hadrianopolis, Decia, Cæsarea, Manistra or Mamistra, and various other appellations, but now Missis, may also have been known, and very appropriately, as Tel-missus. There was also a Telmissus in Mesopotamia, which is still known as Tel or Tell Mazin.

One thing certain remains established by the inquiry, and that is, that no evidence results from it establishing the identity of Oropus or Telmissus with the modern Gerābis, if by that name is meant any of the sites proposed for Car'chemish. The only explanation I can give of the suggestion having been made is, that Jerābūlūs on the Euphrates has been called by some recent traveller Gerābis or Jerābis; and the Europus of Ptolemy, of the Theodosian Tables, and of Belisarius, has been converted into Oropus, just as the Oropus of Nicanor, near Amphipolis, is called Europus by Pliny. If Mambej is called Jerābis, it will not alter the case, save that Jerābis was never known as Oropus or Europus, as Nicopolis or as Telmissus.

I have alluded, in a previous paper on the site of Car'chemish in the *Antiquary*, to the comparative objection to the two different sites proposed—the one at Mambej, the other at Karkisha—for Car'chemish, by the fact that a large park of elephants was kept by the Assyrian monarchs at the latter place, whilst Mambej is on an elevated plain, especially destitute of water or marsh; when Karkisha, at the mouth of the Khabur, presents a most favourable spot for the maintenance of such animals, just as the Orontes did to the Seleucidæ, who maintained a park of elephants at Apamaea.

Corroborative evidence of a similar description has since that been tendered by Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge, in an article on certain cuneiform despatches from Tûsratta, King of Mitāni, to Amenophis III., King of Egypt, and published in the *Proceedings of*

the *Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. x., part 8:

"Of the numerous correspondents," says Mr. Budge, "whom Amenophis III. had, is one whose letters are of the utmost importance for the study of Egyptian and Assyrian history: I allude to Tûsratta, the King of Mitâni, who styles himself the 'father-in-law' of the Egyptian King. The land of Mitâni we have some notice of in the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., King of Assyria, about B.C. 1120, who states that he slew four mighty buffaloes in the 'desert of the land of Mitâni.'

"The same inscription," the writer goes on to tell us, "states that Mitâni was situated in front of Hâtî, that is to say, somewhere near Car'chemish, or in the district called by the Egyptians Neherna, that is Mesopotamia. This district seems to have been the 'happy hunting-ground' of the Egyptian monarch, who found it, as Tiglath-Pileser I. found it nearly four hundred years later, well stocked with game.

"Amenophis III. was a skilled hunter, and we have an express statement on his memorial scarabæi that from the first to the tenth year of his reign he slew 100 lions with his own hand (*Brit. Mus. Scarabæus*, No. 4,095). It is more than probable that this 'mighty hunter' became acquainted with Tûsratta during his lion hunts in Mesopotamia, and that he there saw and loved the lady who afterwards became his wife. Dr. Brugsch (*Egypt under the Pharaohs*, i., p. 440) suggests this; but that it was the case now seems to be quite certain."

I am aware that it is related of the motley host who made up the army of Belisarius, when at Hierapolis, that, unable to attack the enemy on the other side of Euphrates, they whiled away their time by hunting on the plains of the northern Hittites; but from what I know of the country it is now almost bare of game, and it never could have been, from its physical characters, "a happy hunting-ground" for large game; nor is the valley of the Euphrates adapted in this part of its course, where it is hemmed in by what I have termed "the Iron Gates," to be the home of large game.

The valley of the Bilecha, Strabo's Royal River, beyond, and more within Mesopotamia, may in ancient times have presented a more

favourable site; but I would humbly suggest that the valley of the Khabur would at all times have presented the most likely home for elephants, "mighty buffaloes," and lions.

This, then, would identify the Car'chemish of Amenophis III., and of Tiglath-Pileser, with Karkisha; the land around would unquestionably correspond to "the desert of the land of Mitâni," the same, in fact, as that described by Xenophon as abounding in wild animals; and if it was situated in front of Hâtî, that would only show that the land of the Hittites extended further south than Mambej.

If any one point can be deduced more than another from the land of Mitâni being in front of the land of the Hittites, and therefore near Car'chemish, it would be that Car'chemish was in the land of the former, and not in that of the latter, in Mesopotamia and not in Syria.



Accounts of Edward V. and Richard III.

BY SIR J. H. RAMSAY, BART.

BUT for the sake of continuity and completeness, the revenue for the period from the death of Edward IV. to the accession of Henry VII. need hardly have been noticed. Materials are very deficient; we have no Pell Issue Rolls, no Tellers' Rolls, and only three Pell Receipt Rolls, one of them defective. The Customs accounts are almost the only special accounts that are forthcoming, and these are far from perfect; but I have taken them out, and they disclose some points of constitutional interest. The readers of the *Antiquary* are probably aware that the Customs at that time were collected under four distinct heads—*Antiqua Custuma*, *Parva Custuma*, Tonnage and Poundage, and the surtax on wool. The two latter imposts were known as "subsidies," being dependent on Parliamentary grants; the two former were hereditary customs, independent of Parliament. Tonnage and Poundage and the subsidy on wool had been granted to Edward

IV. for his life, and so they lapsed at his death. His son during his short reign was not entitled to levy them, nor was Richard III. till January 22, 1484, when they were renewed by Parliament. Till then the only duties legally exigible were the *Antiqua Custuma* and the *Parva Custuma*. The former was a duty of 6s. 8d. on the sack of wool, and 13s. 4d. on the last of leather, taken from natives and foreigners alike. The *Parva Custuma* or "*Petite Custume*," imposed a further duty of 3s. 4d. the sack of wool on foreigners, besides small duties on all articles of import or export, of which the most important was a tax on cloth, graduated according to quality; foreigners, other than Hanse men, paying on a higher scale throughout. The impost on general merchandise was an *ad valorem* duty of 2d. on the £1 from natives and 3d. on the £1 from foreigners. The Hanse men were liable to this duty. Tonnage and Poundage laid a further duty of 12d. on the £1 value of most goods, except wool and leather, and 3s. on the tun of wine. Thus under ordinary circumstances, when Tonnage and Poundage were current, general merchandise paid an aggregate poundage of 15d. on the £1 value.

At the death of Edward IV. the subsidy on wool from natives was 33s. 4d., making, with the *Antiqua Custuma*, 40s. the sack. The subsidy from foreigners was nominally 66s. 8d., making, with the *Antiqua Custuma* and the *Parva Custuma*, to which aliens were liable, a grand total of 76s. 8d. the sack. But these were impossible rates, never levied in practice. I believe that 53s. 4d. is as much as I have ever found actually paid. Thus, then, if we take the proceeds from wool exported by natives, the chief item, the Customs revenue, at Edward's death ought to have fallen to one-sixth of what it was before, and the poundage on general merchandise ought to have fallen to one-fifth.

To see what did happen, I took out the totals of the Customs revenue for the last six months of Edward's life, namely, from Michaelmas, 1482, to April 9th, 1483: the total of the accounts which are forthcoming, as given below, comes to £11,454 13s. 10d. Three accounts, however, are wanting, namely, those for Chichester, Exeter, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. As the Newcastle accounts are

equally wanting in the next six months,* their absence does not affect the comparison; but for the missing Chichester account I have allowed £45, and for that from Exeter £260, on estimates based on preceding years. With these allowances the total for the half-year comes to £11,759 13s. 10d., say, in round numbers, something under £12,000. The total for the half-year, April 9 to Michaelmas, 1483, comes to £5,124 3s. From this it would seem to follow that the merchants had been able to resist paying illegal duties to a certain extent, but not at all to the proper extent. Tonnage and Poundage is entered as levied from the beginning of the period at the full rate of 12d. on the £1. The duty had gone on for so long at the same rate that the officials might easily claim it as hereditary, or practically hereditary. In the London accounts we have £375 under this head, collected, as we are expressly told, "by order of the treasurer;" but it must be admitted that this amount was trifling, for the corresponding portion of the next year, when the tax had been renewed, the amount was certainly over £1,000. In some cases the Government had a hold upon men to force them to account for duty. The largest exporters of wool in the kingdom were the Company of the Calais Merchants, a firm carrying on business in London and Calais. The Government owed these men money for advances made to the garrison. Accordingly I find these men charged in account with the full subsidy on wool, as a set-off against the money due to them. On the other hand, as these advances had been made to Edward IV., I think the recognition of them as binding on his successor implies a certain advance in political morality.

For the financial year, Michaelmas, 1483-1484, the reader will see that the Customs came to £18,629 7s. 3d.; for the next year the amount was £20,743 4s. I call it a year, though the receipts practically ended on August 22, 1485, the day of Richard's death at Bosworth; the payments to the Exchequer between that day and the end of September being trifling, and in many cases simply *nil*.

* The accounts from Newcastle appear to be wanting from the seventeenth year of Edward IV. (1477) to October 3, Henry VII. (1487).

I suppose that the collectors thought that with a new reign it would be more shipshape to start fresh accounts at Michaelmas, and so ignored all intermediate returns.

As in the matter of these Customs accounts we are plunging into an entirely unexplored field of research, where all conclusions for some time must be looked upon as provisional, it may be well to compare these latest facts that we have acquired with the results of our earlier investigations.

Richard III. clearly had in the last eleven months of his reign a Customs revenue of nearly £21,000; had he lived and reigned till Michaelmas, he would presumably have had something like £23,000. The estimate which I gave for the last year of Henry VI., a troubled period with defective accounts, was £20,000. For the earlier years of Edward IV. I took £22,500 as a probable average.* The receipts for this last year of Richard III. seem to me to fall in very well with both these estimates. On the other hand, our total for the last six months of Edward IV.'s reign, being under £12,000, suggests that the average of £29,000, which I estimated for the latter years of the reign, was perhaps too high.

To proceed to the other branches of the revenue. Richard III. received no direct subsidy from Parliament: no fifteenth was voted by his one Parliament; and the subsidy which had been granted to Edward IV. shortly before his death was apparently not collected.† Nor did the northern province grant anything; but the Convocation of Canterbury granted three-tenths in the period under review: one in 1483, one in 1484, and one in 1485.

As I do not intend to attempt to form any estimate for the broken year from Michaelmas, 1482, to Michaelmas, 1483, nothing need be said about the proceeds of the first of these tenths, except that, if we may judge by the payments on account of the tenth of the next year, very little of it was paid. The tenth of 1484 was granted by a convocation that met on February 23; the grant was given as usual in moieties,‡ one to be raised

in the spring, the other in the autumn. The Pell Receipt Rolls for the three following terms are extant, the last one being to some extent defective. The total payments entered to the account of the tenth of 1484 come to £3,632 19s. 6d. This result was to me rather startling, because it suggested that the return of £6,104 8s. 4d., given on the Enrolled Foreign Accounts of the last year of Edward IV. as the proceeds of an entire Canterbury tenth, was correct; and not, as I contended, to be taken as the proceeds of a half-tenth only.* But on taking out the entries of payments to account of the tenth of 1485, my view was entirely justified, as the yield of the first half of that tenth alone came to £6,151 5s. 9d., besides large payments on account of the second half, and arrears of the tenth of 1484.† The punctuality with which the tenth of 1485 was paid up, as compared with that of the previous year, shows that, in spite of the expectations of the Earl of Richmond's coming, Richard really had a firmer hold of the country in 1485 than in 1484. Altogether we will assume that Richard received not far short of a full tenth between Michaelmas, 1484, and his death, say £12,000, though I believe that sum to be in excess of the real amount. In the Easter term of 1484 he only received about £2,800, on account of the tenth voted that spring. The Roll for the preceding Michaelmas term is wanting, but I don't see how we can allow more than that sum again for the balance of the tenth granted in 1483; allowing that sum at a bold guess, we get £5,600 as the contribution of the clergy for our first year, namely, from Michaelmas, 1483, to Michaelmas, 1484.

The old Crown revenues for that year and the next we will put at £17,900, as we put them in the latter years of Edward IV.; the Clarence estates we will put at £3,000, as the receipts had begun to fall before Edward's death. The Customs for the first year we have found to be £18,629 7s. 3d.; and those for the second year, £20,743 4s.

The small account of the Chief Butler disappears from the Enrolled Foreign Accounts, not to reappear till the sixth year of Henry VII.; but, as I noticed some payments under

* See *Antiquary*, xvi. 238.

† *Rot. Parl.*, vi. 401.

‡ See 3 Deputy-Keeper's Report, Append. ii. 45. Wilkins' *Concilia*, iii. 616.

* *Antiquary*, xvi. 187.

† Receipt Roll, Easter 2-3, Richard III.

this head on the Pell Receipt Roll, we will allow £167 as before.

The proceeds of the Hanaper were always large in the first years of a reign, owing to the numerous patents that had to be re-sealed; thus the Patent Roll for the first year of Richard III. runs into five parts, two or three being a usual number, and on the Enrolled Foreign Accounts we find that the net proceeds for our first year were £2,930, just £130 more than they were in the first year of Edward IV.; for our second year, where the accounts are wanting, we will allow £1,200, being a trifle more than the yield of the second year of Edward IV. The proceeds of the Tower Mint and Exchange for our first year are missing; but I will take those of the preceding year, which are returned on the Enrolled Foreign Accounts as £130 net; those for our second year appear as £112 net. The aulnage of cloth at a guess may be left at £1,000, as it was before; but the proceeds of the vacant Sees must be placed at a higher figure, inasmuch as the Sees of Ely and Exeter were in hand all the time. We will allow another £1,000 under this head. Thus, then, for the first year we get a total income of £50,356 7s. 3d., and for the second year one of £57,122 4s. 10d. Without laying claim to undue accuracy, I think we may say that the legitimate royal revenues for these two years were not far from these sums. The word "legitimate" seems to imply some possible further resources. In the earlier part of his reign Richard appears to have had the spending of his brother's hoard. We have it on the authority of the second Croyland continuator, a writer of the highest authority, that Edward left considerable treasures. But not a particle of record evidence on the subject has come under my eye. The treasure may have amounted to £10,000, or £20,000, or £30,000: whatever it was, Richard spent it.

Of Loans in our first year there is not much to be said. The Michaelmas Receipt Roll, as already stated, is wanting; on the Easter Roll the loans not marked as "repaid" only amount to £206, the loans "repaid" amounting to £1,540 13s. 4d. In the second year the royal borrowings assumed much more serious proportions. In the first place on the

Rolls for the two terms, the aggregate borrowings come to nearly £8,460, of which £1,625 are not marked as "repaid." That does not sound a great deal, but the reader must be warned that an entry of repayment on the margin of a Pell Receipt Roll did not necessarily imply that the lender had got his money back. Payment might be made in cash, which, of course, would be satisfactory; but it might be made by way of "assignment," that is to say, by a draft, which might be honoured or might not. The chances are that at Richard's death, of the £8,460, a good deal more than £1,625 remained unpaid.

But we must also take into account the Benevolences which Richard, in violation of the solemn pledge given in Parliament, extorted in the spring of 1485. These borrowings are recorded in terms of strong condemnation by the Croyland writer; and that fact alone implies a distinction between them and the borrowings entered on the Receipt Rolls, which, with considerable fluctuations as to the amounts, were nevertheless matters of constant—in fact, of ordinary—treasury practice, and, as such, could hardly excite the soreness recorded by the chronicler.

Moreover, the reader may be reminded that the Benevolences of Edward IV. were scarcely noticed on the Receipt Rolls, the money having been apparently paid directly into the King's Chamber, like the French subsidy. Again, the letters of Privy Seal, under which the Benevolences of Richard III. were raised, were issued in batches between February 21st and April 5th, 1485, in the interval between the close of the Michaelmas, and the opening of the Easter, terms. This seems to suggest that the proceeds were not intended to appear among the receipts of either term; at any rate, they could not come under the borrowings of the Michaelmas term. As to the Benevolences, it is interesting to remark that the King carefully avoided using that term, as if to avoid a literal breach of his word. The money was raised on bonds under the Privy Seal, drawn in strict legal form, and pledging the King to prompt repayment. The bonds were accompanied by letters of request, asking for the money as a favour, for the defence of the realm and "the keeping of the sea." The bonds and letters of request were committed

to agents, with commissions authorizing them to issue them in the different counties. The total amount asked for came to £29,125 10s. 8d., besides twenty letters for the city of London, on which the sums asked for were left in blank. Taking these at a high estimate at £100 apiece, the total would come to something over £31,000, or just an ordinary parliamentary fifteenth and tenth, a coincidence which was probably not accidental. But of this total it must be stated that £5,120 were to be drawn for the clergy, who could repay themselves out of the tenth they had to pay shortly afterwards, and that sum I would put out of consideration at once. Then we may point out that of the residue only £5,000 or £6,000 were addressed to named individuals, the blank bonds to be placed by the King's agents as best they could, amounting to £18,600.* These were the most objectionable requisitions, because they came down to men of smaller means—non-mercantile men, who had no ordinary dealings with the Exchequer.

The reader will see the difficulty of offering any kind of estimate of the amount got in. I would only venture to suggest that nothing like the whole amount was raised.

To sum up so far as we can the allowances to be made for the extraordinary receipts of our two years:

For the first year, Michaelmas, 1483-1484. If we were to double the recorded borrowings of the Easter term, to make up for the missing Michaelmas Roll, the amount would be £3,493 6s. 8d. If not one penny of this was repaid, the revenue would still be under £55,000. If by an absolute guess we should estimate Edward's hoard at £20,000, the grand total would still be under £75,000.

For the second year, Michaelmas, 1484-1485. If we were to add the whole of the recorded borrowings to the legitimate income, with an allowance of £20,000 as the possible yield of the Benevolences, we should have a grand total under £86,000. Personally I should be inclined to regard each estimate as too—perhaps a good deal too high; and it would be distinctly unjust to Richard to

assume in the face of the entries on the Rolls that no part of the borrowed money was repaid.

If we have found it hard to form substantial estimates of the revenues of the Kings of England, it may be comforting to know that Richard III. felt ignorant on this point, and that he wished to be better informed as to what his income really was. We gather this from a memorandum or "remembrance," drawn up apparently under his eye for the institution of certain reforms in the revenue departments. One proposal is that the "auditors" of the Exchequer should "yerely make a boke of alle the revenues, issues, and proffuytes growing of alle shireffes, eschetors, collectors of custumes and subsidies, tresourer of Calais and Guysnes, collectors of dismes, baillieffes of cities, burghes, and portes, and of alle other maner officers accomptable of the said eschequier, with the reprises and deduccions therof, and the same boke to declare afore suche persones as the Kinge's good grace shalle like to assigne to here and to see it; whereupon his grace may yerely se the prouffites of the said court. Also that the tresourer of England for the tyme being yerely shuld make a declaration of alle suche money as is recieved or assigned within his office, be it in the receipt or be it otherwise, for that yere afore the said yeres."*

Here we must remark that what the King wanted done was very much what the Pell Issue and Receipt Rolls professed to do; only no doubt the Receipt Rolls only showed the net sums paid into the Exchequer, "reprises" and direct payments being ignored. The King's suggestions implied an alteration in this respect. Another alteration would be the audit of the treasurer's accounts here contemplated. The subordinate accounts both of the receiving and spending departments were regularly audited by the Barons of the Exchequer: we have constant references to these audits; but I have never found any reference to any audit of the treasurer's accounts as a whole. To this may be ascribed the fact that no attempt is ever made to balance the Issue and Receipt Rolls.

* For the bonds, letters of request, commissions, and instructions to the agents, see MS. Harl. 433 ff. 275-277.

* Letters Richard III. etc., i. 81 (Rolls Series) from MS. Harl. 433 f. 271.

TABLE I.—CUSTOMS RECEIPTS, MICHAELMAS, 1482-1485.

Ports.	Mich., 22 Ed. IV., to April 9, 23 Ed. IV.	April 9, to Mich., 1 Richard III.	Mich., 1-2 Richard III.	Mich., 2 Rich. III., to Mich., 1 Hy. VII.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Boston	25 0 0 (to Dec. 4 only)	43 8 8		
Bridgewater	136 0 0	24 3 6	85 15 7	90 8 5
Bristol	607 17 1	234 18 3		
Chichester		11 15 8	24 0 4	26 18 6 (to Aug. 22 only)
Exeter and Dartmouth.....		(say) 100 0 0 ^a	(say) 464 13 7 ^a	
Hull	186 16 11	55 6 3	1,222 8 0	833 14 10 (to October 18)
Ipswich	32 2 9	22 3 8 (to July 24 only)	548 13 3	118 5 3 (to Aug. 22 only)
London, Parva Custuma	1,144 15 3	1,084 3 1 (to July 24 only)	1,937 12 3 (from July 24)	2,602 9 11
„ Antiqua and Wool Subsidy	5,610 8 6	1,409 8 7 (May 18 to July 5)	9,327 2 7	7,480 0 9
„ Tonnage and Poundage...	2,449 0 0	375 0 0	2,504 11 8	2,892 0 10 (to Aug. 22 only)
Lynn	29 13 4	15 7 3	43 8 8	41 12 0 (to Aug. 22 only)
Newcastle		No	accounts.	
Plymouth	70 8 7	193 13 5		219 8 10 (to Aug. 22 only)
Pole.....	280 2 6	165 0 0 ^b	165 0 0 ^b	165 0 0 ^b
Sandwich	534 14 6	664 17 0	417 3 3	724 0 4 (to Aug. 22 only)
Southampton	280 0 0	714 9 6 (to July 24 only)	1,839 10 2 (to November 19)	5,478 16 6 (from Nov. 19)
Yarmouth	67 14 5	10 8 2	49 7 11	70 7 10
Totals	11,454 13 10	5,124 3 0	18,629 7 3	20,743 4 0

(a) One account, from April 9, 23 Edward IV., to Michaelmas, 2 Richard III., £564 13s. 7d. I have apportioned the amount conjecturally.

(b) One account, divided equally between the three periods.

TABLE II.—ESTIMATED INCOME OF RICHARD III., FROM MICHAELMAS, 1483, TO MICHAELMAS, 1484.

(1) Old Crown Revenues, including Lancaster, Cornwall, Wales, County Farms, etc. (as under Edward IV.)	£17,900 0 0
Ditto Clarence Estates	3,000 0 0
(2) Canterbury Tenths	5,600 0 0
(3) Customs	18,629 7 3
Ditto Chief Butler.....	167 0 0
(4) Hanaper in Chancery	2,930 0 0
(5) Tower Mint and Exchange ...	130 0 0
(6) Aulnage of Cloth	1,000 0 0
(7) Vacant Sees and Sundry	1,000 0 0
	£50,356 7 3

NOTE.—On the Pell Receipt Roll, Easter, 1-2 Richard III., entries to the following effect are found:

Loans "repaid"	£1,540 13 4
Ditto not repaid.....	206 0 0
Total Loans	£1,746 13 4

The Michaelmas Receipt Roll is wanting.

TABLE III.—ESTIMATED INCOME OF RICHARD III., FROM MICHAELMAS, 1484, TO AUGUST 22 (SAY MICHAELMAS), 1485.

(1) Old Crown Revenues, including Lancaster, Cornwall, Wales, County Farms, etc. (as under Edward IV.)	£17,900 0 0
Ditto Clarence Estates	3,000 0 0
(2) Canterbury Tenths	12,000 0 0
(3) Customs	20,743 4 10
Ditto Chief Butler.....	167 0 0
(4) Hanaper in Chancery	1,200 0 0
(5) Tower Mint and Exchange ...	112 0 0
(6) Aulnage of Cloth	1,000 0 0
(7) Vacant Sees, etc.	1,000 0 0
	£57,122 4 10

NOTE.—On the Pell Receipt Rolls, Michaelmas, 2 Richard III., and Easter, 2-3 Richard III., entries to the following effect are found:

Loans "repaid"	£6,833 0 0
Ditto not repaid.....	1,625 0 0
Total Loans	£8,458 0 0

The Dormer Monuments at Wing.

SCATTERED over nearly every part of the county of Buckinghamshire are the tombs of the Dormer family. This noble house, it is to be presumed, had its origin in Oxfordshire, inasmuch as we find from the records at Thame, in that county, dating as far back as 1529, from memorial tablets and from lands called after their names, very early recognition of their importance. In or about the year 1546 Sir Robert Dormer bought Hogston near unto Winslow. At that period he had become the possessor of large estates from the favour of Henry VIII. In 1552 he died seized of the manor of Ilmer in the hundred of Ashendon. In Henry's reign, he was three times High Sheriff of the counties of Bedfordshire and Bucks. At the dissolution of the monasteries he obtained a grant of the manor of Wenge or Wing, that being a part of the property of the Abbey of St. Albans. It has been averred that the manors of Wing, Ivinghoe, and Tring belonged at one time to the Hampdens, and that one of that family having had an altercation with the Black Prince, lost these manors, having to pay a fine or composition.* Gough in his additions to Camden thus gives the lines which embody the tradition:

Hamden of Hamden did forego
The manors of King, Wing, and Ivinghoe,
For striking the Black Prince a blow.†

Maybe Wing is confounded with Wingrave, for it is certain that William Hampden purchased, in 1531, the estate of Wingrave, distant only a few miles from Wing, the then property of the Latimer family. Griffith Hampden, grandson of William, held it in 1591. About the year 1607 the Hampdens sold it to Sir Robert Dormer, afterwards Baron Dormer.

In Wing parish, was situate Ascott House, the mansion belonging to the Dormers. This adjoined the village. In 1720 the house was suffered to go to ruin,‡ and later on, in 1727,

* Lysons declares that these manors were never in the Hampden family.

† Other versions of these verses are extant.

‡ In Sheahan's *History of Buckinghamshire* it is

Sir William Stanhope cut down the timber, disparked the demesne, and thus changed the character of the entire estate. It was at Ascott that Dudley Carleton writing to John Chamberlain at Knebworth on March 6th, 1598, declares "the entertainment to be very royal according to the custom of the place." He says "that his cousin Dormer would have sent books to the University of Oxford, but his wife dissuaded him and told him it would be ascribed to some planet which possesses all men with a sudden humour." The same John Chamberlain in a letter to Carleton dated May 31st, 1596, had previously signified his intention of going to Ascott on the following day, whilst on June 6th, 1598, Carleton, in a communication addressed to Chamberlain, dated Ostend, says: "If this finds you at Ascot, remember me to my Cousin Dormer and my sister Alice. I wish what is brewing for her may come to tapping." And another member of the family, Michael, expresses his pleasure with his entertainment at Ascott, this, too, in a letter to Carleton, who was then at Ostend.* But though Ascott House has become a thing of the past, yet Wing can boast of having in its area one of the most interesting churches in the county, while the memorials of the Dormer family in its interior are remarkable for their grandeur and for the extreme dignity with which they have been invested by the art of its designers. The church, dedicated to All Saints, has a chancel which forms an apse, underneath which is a crypt. There is a nave, north and south aisles. There is a handsome tower and two porches full of well preserved details. The principal entrance is by the spacious south porch, which has two bays with good mullioned windows, and a groined niche over the square-headed doorway. Animals in repose and two human heads are sculptured on either side of the niche. In the interior, the staircase which led to the roof loft remains. An eminent architect † some time since gave his opinion "that Wing Church contains remains apparently of the Saxon era, though not so

stated that Sir William Stanhope had become possessor of this property.

* *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1595, 1597, 1598.*

† The late Sir Gilbert Scott.

decidedly as to be capable of proof. The chancel arch is also semicircular; but the arch is relieved by a projecting archivault, a feature I do not recollect seeing in any Norman building, though very usual in work of supposed Saxon date." Much more might be said concerning the architecture of Wing Church; but it is to the excellence of the monuments contained in the chancel and in one of the aisles that this paper desires to deal. On entering the church the attention is at once directed to a large altar or table-tomb situated at the east end of the north aisle. The tomb is formed of Italian marble. Eight Corinthian pillars support a slab or cornice, which covers the tomb, on which there is no effigy. The fore part is decorated with a ram's head filleted for sacrifice, while festoons of flowers join on to other rams' heads at each angle. The under surface of the cornice has a pattern, which somewhat resembles the ornamentation on the tomb of Bernard Gilpin in the church of St. Michael at Houghton-le-Spring, in the county of Durham, and also on a mural monument at Ryton, in the same county.* Over against the wall and under the cornice are four small shields of arms, and inscriptions in brass to Sir Robert Dormer and other members of his family. A small helmet and some armorial bearings are placed on the apex of the monument. At the base is sculptured *Ano Dni 1552*. As Sir Robert Dormer died in that year, there is presumptive evidence that this noble pile was erected as a lasting tribute to his memory.† The tomb is unique and is certain to have the fullest appreciation at the hands of every lover of art who makes a pilgrimage to view it. It is certainly one of the most, if not the most, remarkable monument in the county of Bucks.‡

In the chancel, separated from the nave by a screen, are two fine monuments opposite to each other. That by the north wall is dedicated to Sir William Dormer, Knight of the Bath, M.P. for the county of Bucks, in the

sixth year of Henry VIII. He was Lord of the Manor of Wing, and in the third year of Philip and Mary he had licence to 'retain thirty men besides his menial servants, those so retained wearing only his livery and attending on special occasions. Sir William was twice married, first to Mary, daughter of Sir Philip Sidney, and secondly to Dorothy, daughter of Anthony Catesby, Esq. The latter lady married again and became the wife of Sir William Temple, the eminent statesman and military commander. She survived him and lived to a very great age, dying in 1613, and was buried near her first husband. She founded a hospital or almshouse for eight poor men and women. It had this inscription on a stone slab: Dormer's Hospital of the foundation of Dame Dorothy Pelham, sometime wife to Sir William Dormer, Knight, Lord of the Manor of Wing, 1562. His full-length marble effigy clad in complete armour lies on a mattress of free stone, the head uncovered, the hands uplifted and joined palm to palm. On a slab underneath is written, Finished Anno 1590, the 20 October. About a foot lower is the effigy of the Lady Dorothy, who is dressed in a close habit with quilted ruffles, coif, large ruff, hood and bands of gold about the head. A fine pediment, frieze and cornice having five shields of arms, surmounts the two effigies. This pediment is supported by two lofty and elegant pillars of Sicilian marble. At the foot of the tomb are the figures of one son and three daughters, and at one of the angles three chrysom children are sculptured.

On the wall immediately opposite is the third of the Dormer memorials. This was erected in memory of Robert, grandson of the first Sir Robert. This gentleman was knighted in 1591, created a baronet in 1615, and elevated to the peerage as Baron Dormer in the same year. In right of his possession of the Manor of Ilmer, Lord Dormer was Master Falconer to the King. He married the Hon. Elizabeth Browne, daughter of Anthony Viscount Montague. The monument is of similar design to that of Sir William, the figures, however, are smaller, and instead of lying prostrate are kneeling. The male statue is clad in armour with stiff collar of great size. There is a sword-belt, but neither sword nor spurs. The lady is on the

* This ornamentation has been described as a kind of chain-work, but the tomb at Wing hardly answers that designation.

† This Sir Robert had married Jane, daughter of John Newdigate, Serjeant-at-Law.

‡ This tomb has been admirably figured in a costly volume entitled *Ancient Sepulchral Monuments*, by William Brindley and W. Samuel Weatherley.

same elevation, and is dressed in a close gown with long sleeves. Both kneel before a separate desk or small altar. At the base are the effigies of three sons and three daughters, and all these, as in the monument opposite, follow each other in the apparent succession of their birth, instead of the boys being with boys only, and the girls with girls, as is the custom generally on brasses and other memorial records. The tomb is partly gilt, and is composed of various marbles, and has a very noble arch, which is decorated with roses and lilies, and supported by two pillars of black marble with Corinthian capitals of white marble. Shields of arms are to be seen on the wall. These three magnificent examples of the sculptor's art, of themselves form a motive for an inspection of the church at Wing.

A licence of alienation was granted to Sir Robert Dormer from Thomas Wilmer on the 15th of February, 1592, and on the 30th of March in the same year a curious commission was issued to him and to others to take up *muttons, lambs, stirks*, etc., for the household from all such in the county of Bucks as refuse to contribute to the composition made in the county.* So too in the course of the following year, on July 2, 1593, we learn that Sir Robert Dormer and six other justices of the peace for the county of Bucks addressed my Lord Burghley to the effect that they "have endeavoured to perform the composition of the county for provision of Her Majesty's household, they send as directed by their Lordships the names of three persons who refuse to pay their contributions of £3 15s., 5s. 8d., and 4s. respectively set against them that a pursuivant man be sent for them. Ask that order may be taken for remedy." There were brave doings at Wing in the October of 1593, when Lord and Lady Montague came on a visit to their daughter, the young Lady Dormer, who in the previous September had been drinking the waters at Buxton with her husband.† Robert, the second Lord Dormer, succeeded his grandfather, and was created Viscount Ascott and Earl of Carnarvon. He was so true a Loyalist that he forwarded all his plate and jewels to Charles I. at Oxford, but they

were seized on the road thither, and the silver coined for the use of the Parliament. He commanded a troop of horse at Gloucester, and was killed later on at Newbury. The King soon discovered a palpable weakness in the army after his death. The latter titles became extinct when Charles, the next heir, died without issue.

There are other monuments to the Dormers,* notably one at the end of the south transept of Long Crendon Church, which is situate over a vault of the family. This was erected in the early part of the seventeenth century to the memory of Sir John Dormer, of Dorton, and Dame Jane his wife. The Manor of Dorton was sold about 1689, with certain other lands to the family of Grenville. In the chancel of Quainton Church there is an affecting memorial in honour of Judge Dormer in 1720, who died of grief for the untimely loss of his son Fleetwood, whose death-bed is here represented. Dorton House, built early in the seventeenth century by Sir John Dormer, is stated to contain a souvenir of the Dormers in the shape of the armorial bearings. These are somewhat singular, as for instance: ARMS—Az. ten billets, four, three, two, and one, or, on a chief of the second, a demi-lion rampant, issuant, sa. THE CREST—a falconer's right-hand glove fesswise, arg. belled and beaked, or, supporters two falcons, wings inverted, arg. legged and beaked or belled, gu. The motto is in very choice Italian, "Cio che Dio vuole is voglio." In the Calendars of State Papers we find Dudley Carleton frequently speaking of his cousin, and in one despatch, writing to John Chamberlain from Witham, he makes the odd allusion to "his lady cousin being well; but she was at Oxford on Friday to take physic." This was the time when recusants went to church in order to avoid the payment of fines. They took good care, nevertheless, to stop their ears with wool. It was hard on the husbands in those days, for let them be as orthodox as they could be, should their wives go astray, they had to pay for their recusancy.

* A picture from the collection of the Rev. George Musgrave was exhibited in 1866 among the national portraits exhibited at South Kensington. This was entitled "The Family of Robert Dormer, First Earl of Carnarvon," and represented the earl and countess and Lord and Lady Pembroke at dessert.

* *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Series, 1591,

1594.

† *Ibid.*, 1593.

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The Manor of Eythorpe, a hamlet in the township of Waddesdon, belonged to Lord Dormer. The family had other properties, especially Peterley and Lee Grange.

There is one other memorial connected with the Dormers in the church at Wing which ought not to be lost sight of in any account of its monuments. On the floor of the south aisle is a square brass plate, having engraved the figure of a man kneeling with his hands uplifted and his face raised heavenward. Beside the figure is a hat and a key. On a brass plate beneath are the following lines:

Honest old Thomas Cotes that sometime was	
Porter at Ascott Hall hath now alas	
Left his key, lodg, fyre, friends, and all to have	
A roome in Heaven, this is that good man's grave.	
Reader prepare for thine, for none can tell,	
But that you, too, may meet to-night. Farewell.	
He dyed the	} Set up at the Apoyntment and Charges of his Frend Geo. Houghton.
20 of November, 1648.	

This record of the Porter at Ascott seems to show that the mansion had all its lordly appurtenances in full order in the middle of the seventeenth century. An old mill was standing in the neighbourhood not long since which was stated to have been built at the cost of Lord Dormer.

WILLIAM BRAILSFORD.



Clubs and Club Men.

BY T. W. TEMPANY, F.S.S., ETC.

DR. JOHNSON tells us that a club is an "assembly of good fellows, who meet under certain conditions;" but with the best will in the world it is impossible to regard as "good fellows," or companions, the disagreeable "Surlies," the mean "Split Farthings," or the members of many other clubs of the reign of Queen Anne. Neither is the definition applicable to political clubs, such as the "Rota," "The Treason," and the "Secret Knot."

Todd, one of Johnson's annotators, varies the latter's definition by defining a club as an "association of people who submit to particular rules;" but this is quite as defective as

the first, as it does not distinguish clubs from any ordinary gatherings.

It is impossible to give an exact idea of a club in a simple sentence, because clubs are from their very nature complex things; besides this, they have undergone many changes, and the Pall Mall palaces of to-day resemble so little the small taverns where clubs were held in olden times, that it is difficult to embrace in a single formula associations of so very different a nature. We think that the original idea of a club lies in the fact that every meeting of the kind is inseparable from some particular place, where its members can at the same time enjoy the pleasures of the table and the delights of agreeable conversation. Nevertheless, it is certain that in the beginning club frequenters did not seek for material pleasure with the same care as they do now; for the purpose, above all things, for which they met was to talk.

Clubs, without doubt, are the outcome of man's sociability, for man is born to live with his fellow-men. But while sociability is no less an inherent part of his nature than the power of reason, he is at the same time capable of feeling attachment and aversion; that is to say, he is at once both sociable and exclusive. If on the one hand he likes to live with others, yet on the other hand he does not like to live indiscriminately with all. He chooses his friends, and is more difficult to please the higher up he is in the social scale.

Man is, then, governed by two natural forces: the first, sociability, which urges him to seek for companionship among his fellow-creatures; and the other exclusiveness, which is really only a corrective to the first, and tends to isolate him from the multitude.

Persons endowed with the same tastes, moving in the same social circle, are inevitably drawn towards each other, and meet to mutually exchange ideas. The more refined society becomes the more its wants increase, the more apparent are its differences, and the more men seek to form themselves into particular groups. Each of these wants, each of these differences, gives birth to a club or coterie, of which the members contribute each a certain foundation of ideas common to the entire body, and which ideas are in opposition more or less direct with the ideas of the outside world. Clubs therefore, though

born of man's sociability, exist by the diversity of his opinions and tastes—or, to employ general terms, of the sympathy and antipathy which men feel for each other.

Beyond the conformity of tastes and pleasure which has given rise to clubs, we must not forget the community of political ideas. Athens and Rome had their clubs, and at different times it was found necessary to stifle these hotbeds of conspiracy.

The first political societies of England date from the Revolution of 1648, and at one part of this epoch they multiplied with great rapidity. But it is not our intention to follow, step by step, the different phases through which clubs have passed up to the present time. Numerous changes have been necessary to transform the modest club or gathering of the Spartans into the splendid club of the West-End of London. It has taken twenty-two centuries to complete this work, and we must confess that during part of this time circumstances have been far from favourable to its development.

As far back as the reign of Henry IV. we hear of a club called "Court de Bonne Compagnie," of which Occleve and Chaucer appear to have been members. The former, however, is the only writer who mentions this club; and if it were not for a few poor verses published for the first time in the year 1696, we should not even know that it had existed. It was still in existence in 1413, the time of Boccaccio and the Troubadours, a period when poets had but one subject of which to sing—Woman! England followed the prevailing fashion, and Chaucer was reputed to have written *The Court of Love*; while Gower, the melodious poet, composed his *Confessio Amantis*.

The author of the *Canterbury Tales* counted amongst his friends John Gower and Thomas Occleve, and it is probable that these three poets formed part of the Court de Bonne Compagnie, although we have no positive proof on this point.

Occleve addressed an epistle of sixty-six verses to Henry Somer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the following dedication written in Old French: "The following Ballad, made by the Court de Bonne Compagnie, is dedicated to the Honourable Henry Somer, Chancellor of the Exchequer,

and a member of the said Court."* This document, which has no literary value, contains some important details concerning this ancient coterie. It appears to have comprised several members of the Middle Temple, and Occleve himself lived in Chester Inn, formerly an Inn of Chancery appendant to the Middle Temple, and pulled down by the Protector Somerset to make room for Somerset House, which was erected upon its site. The club seems to have held its meetings in the Temple, for Occleve mentions, in his epistle to Henry Somer, that he would remember how in that honourable sanctuary, called the Temple, they used to meet for enjoyment and amusement, where they never ran into the error of waste or excess, and where they freely spent their money.

By degrees, however, the meetings seem to have degenerated, and the club, departing little by little from its early simplicity, fell into regrettable excesses. Somer, who appears to have been one of the most influential members of the club, disapproved of this relaxation in the observance of its rules, and we find him writing a severe letter to Occleve, in which he declares himself desirous of putting an end to these excesses, and of inducing the club to turn over a new leaf. This letter produced a deep impression, if we may judge from Occleve's deferential tone and his reiterated promises made in the name of the club to found a precedent upon the example which Somer was desirous of setting.

Such is the information we are able to glean from Occleve's poetry, and it is to be regretted that it throws so little light upon the true character and importance of the Court de Bonne Compagnie. When the club was founded, and when it ceased to exist, are questions which it is impossible to answer. Apart from the information given by Occleve, all is conjecture.

It is to be noticed that after the Court de Bonne Compagnie, which was of very short duration, two centuries passed before a new club was founded in Great Britain; for it was not until the commencement of the seventeenth century that Sir Walter Raleigh and

* "Cestes Balade Ensuyante Fust Par la Court de Bone Compagnie Envoïee a Loure Sire Henri Somer Chancellor De Leschequer et un De la Dite Court."

Ben Jonson gave the creative impulse to the celebrated Mermaid and Apollo Clubs. Writing of the former of these, Gifford tells us that Sir Walter Raleigh opened at the Mermaid Tavern in Bread Street, Cheapside, a literary club, to which he invited the celebrities of the day. There he met Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, the latter a good fellow and a good talker, but with rather an overweening disposition for the bottle; but temperance was not a virtue of his time. Besides Shakespeare and Jonson, there might have been seen at the Mermaid those two inseparables, Beaumont and Fletcher, who wrote jointly more than fifty pieces for the stage, and enjoyed at that time a higher reputation than the author of *Hamlet*. The other members of the club were Selden, one of the finest characters of the English Revolution; Cotton, the celebrated antiquary; Carew and Donne, poets, and a number of others.

Shakespeare and Jonson were, we are told, the soul of the Mermaid Club, and Fuller's description of the combats of wit which took place between them will be in the recollection of all.

Of the brilliant meetings, to which Fuller refers, we have no details; and were it not for a few lines left us by Beaumont, the existence of the Mermaid Club might still be for us a mystery.

The Mermaid was not the only tavern which Jonson frequented; among others, Herrick tells us, were "The Dog," "The Sun," and the "Triple Tun"; but the most celebrated of all was the old "Devil," which stood in Fleet Street between the Temple Gateway and the Bar, on the site now occupied by Child's Bank.

Mine host of the "Devil" was Simon Wadloe, whom Jonson has immortalized in his verse under the name of "Duke Wadloe" and "King Simon." This man was also the original of "Old Sir Simon the King," the favourite song of Squire Western, in Fielding's "Tom Jones." But it was to the Apollo Club that the old "Devil" owed its celebrity. There in the Apollo Room, on the first floor of the tavern, met those "sealed of the Tribe of Ben," and for whom the poet wrote his convivial laws, as the rules by which the club should be governed.

It will be remembered that it is at the Apollo that Killigrew, the dramatist, lays one of the scenes in his *Parson's Wedding*, and there also took place the repetition of the *Court Odes* of the Poet Laureate. Ben Jonson was the king and oracle of the Apollo, and he shone more at the "Devil" Tavern than Dryden at "Wills's," or Addison at "Button's." To acquire a reputation as a man of wit, it was necessary in those days to be admitted to his friendship, an honour not easily obtained. Dryden was very much amused by those persons who supposed themselves to be clever by hiding under the cloak of a man of wit. These men, said he, were capable of giving suppers at the Apollo, in order to pass themselves off as Ben's adopted sons.

If we may judge, there seems to have been quite as much drinking as talking at the Apollo. Jonson himself loved to excess the pleasures of the bottle. He tells us that the first speech in his *Catiline*, spoken by Sylla's Ghost, was written after he had parted from his boys at the "Devil." He says: "I had drank well that night, and had brave notions. There is one scene in the play which I think flat. *I resolve to mix no more water with my wine.*"

Jonson's devotion to Bacchus was shared by his adopted sons, and after his death they ran into all kinds of excess at the table, under the pretext of imitating the author of *Volpone*. Thence issued hundreds of songs in honour of wine and of Ben Jonson, who knew so well how to drink it.

As he grew older, Jonson appeared less and less frequently at the club; to the last he was the same man, overbearing and irritable; but once installed between two bottles at the Apollo, he cherished malice against no one.

Among the men of letters, emulous of the reputation of being "sealed of the Tribe of Ben," were Marmion, Cartwright, Brome, Randolph, Lord Falkland, Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir John Suckling, Herrick, Rutter, and others; but after Jonson, the most remarkable of them was Thomas Randolph, a Bohemian and a poet, who by his indulgence killed himself at the early age of twenty-nine. He was the author of *The Muses' Looking-Glass*, and the *Jealous Lovers*, productions which rendered his name famous.

Randolph shone above all in conversation; his repartee was quick and brilliant, and beyond doubt he was one of the most witty talkers of which the Apollo could boast.

But to come to the really golden age of clubs—the eighteenth century, the period when Addison in his fancy shadowed forth that *beau idéal* of a perfect club, the “Spectator.”

In those days, however, there were real clubs almost equal to the one he portrayed, where no surly cognizance was taken of the embellishments which one's own good nature will occasionally give to one's own especial stories; where no covert sneer was indulged in at those semi-fictions into which that frail jade, Fancy, will at times involuntarily entangle us in relating our own reminiscences. The whole club worked in harmony, as on those occasions, when the kindly Sir Roger, with his whims and prejudices, would be diffusive o'er the freaks of his youth, and who in turn would listen calmly and with respect to the sententiousness of Sir Andrew Freeport, to the modest narratives of Captain Sentry, and to the self-complacent gallantries of that battered beau, Will Honeycombe.

It is in one of his papers in the *Spectator* that Addison tells us that all celebrated clubs were founded on eating and drinking, “points wherein most men agree, and in which the learned and the illiterate, the dull and the airy, the philosopher and the buffoon, can all of them bear a part.”

However true the proposition may be in fact, it is not every club that openly acknowledges it in the name, although some have done so, as Addison instances in the case of the “Kit-Kat,” the “Beefsteak,” and the “October” clubs. But whether the Kit-Kat derived its title from a “mutton-pye,” as Addison suggests, or from Kit or Christopher Cat, “the pudding-pye” man who made the savoury article, and at whose house in Shire Lane, by Temple Bar, the club assembled, is doubtful. The club had for its secretary, if not for its founder, Jacob Tonson, the great bookseller, whose name is familiar to every reader of Pope or Horace Walpole, and whom, it will be remembered, Dryden described as

“With two left legs and Judas-colored hair.”

But we must confess that in Dryden's biting sarcasm on the grasping bookseller we fail to identify the genial Tonson, secretary of the Kit-Kat, and boon companion of Steele, Addison, and Dorset.

The Kit-Kat was really a political club, the members originally being limited to thirty-nine distinguished noblemen and gentlemen zealously attached to the Protestant succession. Among the most notable of them were the great Duke of Marlborough, Sir Robert Walpole, Somers, Lord Chancellor of England; the proud and somewhat extraordinary Duke of Somerset, who never allowed his children to be seated in his presence, and who gave his directions to his servants by signs, a somewhat awkward, if not inconvenient, mode of intimating one's commands; the Earl of Dorset, patron of Dryden and Prior; Duke of Kingston, father of Lady Mary Wortley Montague; Congreve, the dramatist; the good, jovial, and poetical physician, Garth, whom George I. knighted with the sword of Marlborough; the greatest of our English essayists, Addison; and that improvident, but kindest of humorists, Dick Steele. Pope as a Catholic was inadmissible, whilst Prior was precluded as a renegade. Dryden is stated to have been a member, but this is scarcely probable, as he died in 1701, within a year of the foundation of the club. Dryden, moreover, can scarcely be fancied as a member of a Whig club; his portrait, however, appeared among the other portraits of the members of the club, which were painted for his friend Tonson by Sir Godfrey Kneller, the Court painter of William and Anne's reigns, “a man who bragged more, spelt worse, and painted better than any man of his day.” And it was these three-quarter-length portraits painted by Kneller of one uniform size to suit the walls of Tonson's villa at Barn Elms, Barnes, that originated the name Kit-Kat, by which portraits of that particular size are still known.

In the summer months the Kit-Kats migrated to Hampstead, a place much frequented in those days. There at an inn then known as the Upper Flask, and still existing as a private house, the members assembled, and there in fine weather, beneath the shade of the famous mulberry-tree, which stood in its garden until as late as the year 1876,

we can picture Steele sipping his ale, and Addison lingering in talk with Garth and Congreve.

It was one of the rules of the club to elect each year some reigning beauty as a toast, and the member who proposed the lady as his toast composed in her honour a couplet or quatrain, which was engraved on the club glasses. Many of these verses were written by Halifax and Garth, while several were from the pen of Addison and Steele. Walpole tells us that one of the first toasts was Lady Molyneux. Among the most celebrated were the four daughters of the Duke of Marlborough, Lady Godolphin, Lady Sunderland (known as the little Whig), Lady Bridgewater, and Lady Monthermer. Lady Carlisle was another, and so was the pretty niece of Sir Isaac Newton.

Lady Mary Wortley Montague was also a toast of the Kit-Kat. We are told that at a meeting to choose toasts for the year the whim seized the Duke of Kingston, Lady Mary's father, to nominate his daughter, then a child about eight years old, and he did so upon the ground "that she was prettier than any lady upon the list." The other members demurred because the rules of the club forbade them to elect a beauty whom they had never seen. "Then you shall see her," he said, and a chair was at once despatched for her. When she appeared, dressed in her best, she was received with acclamation, her claim allowed, her health drunk by all, and her name engraved in due form upon the club glasses. She was feasted with sweetmeats and overwhelmed with caresses, and what, perhaps, even then pleased her most was to hear her wit and beauty extolled on every side. Pleasure she said was too poor a word to express her sensations; they amounted to ecstasy. Never again through her whole future life did she pass so happy a day.*

Tonson seems to have been the life and soul of the club, for we find the Duke of Somerset writing to him in the year 1703, when business took Tonson to Holland, that the club remained closed until his return to revive it, an event which all were impatiently looking forward to.

Ultimately objectionable men pushed their way into the club as members, and it appears

* *Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montague*, 1861, vol. i., p. 53.

to have been finally broken up about the year 1720. In 1725 we find Vanbrugh writing Tonson, that he remembered with pleasure the dear old Kit-Kat, and that Lord Carlisle, Lord Cobham and himself would be glad to see him in the winter, "as old friends who belonged to the most remarkable club that had ever existed."

Coming nearer to our own days than the period when the Kit-Kat flourished, there is a club which on many accounts may be said to be almost the most famous of the eighteenth century. This was the Literary Club, founded by Dr. Johnson and Sir Joshua Reynolds, and which originally met at the Turk's Head Tavern, Gerard Street, Soho. This club, Macaulay tells us, gradually became a formidable power in the commonwealth of letters. "The verdicts pronounced by this conclave on new books were speedily known over all London, and were sufficient to sell off a whole edition in the day, or to condemn the sheets to the service of the trunk-maker and the pastrycook. Nor shall we think this strange when we consider what great and various talents and acquirements met in the little fraternity. Goldsmith was the representative of poetry and light literature, Reynolds of the arts, Burke of political eloquence and political philosophy. There, too, were Gibbon the greatest historian, and Jones the greatest linguist, of the age. Garrick brought to the meetings his inexhaustible pleasantry, his incomparable mimicry, and his consummate knowledge of stage effect. Among the most constant attendants were two high-born and high-bred gentlemen, closely bound together by friendship, but of widely different character and habits—Bennet Langton, distinguished by his skill in Greek literature, by the orthodoxy of his opinions, and by the sanctity of his life, and Topham Beauclerk, renowned for his amours, his knowledge of the gay world, his fastidious tastes, and his sarcastic wit. To predominate over such a society was not easy. Yet over such a society Johnson predominated. Burke might indeed have disputed the supremacy to which others were under necessity of submitting." But he did not! Johnson there apparently softened his growl, and conversation seemed to have run smoothly and naturally along, touching upon every topic that occurred.

It is said that there was rarely any set

discussion amongst them; Burke's copious and discursive range of conversation brought together so many hints and allusions as to create a perpetual variety and alternation of discourse. This was Burke's theory of conversation, "the perfection of which," he once said, "was not to play a regular sonata, but, like the *Æolian* harp, to await the inspiration of the passing breeze."

The name of the "Literary" Club was not long retained after Johnson's death, it being subsequently changed to the more emphatic one of "The Club." The omission of the word "Literary" was perhaps justifiable, as after Johnson's death the club lost to a great extent its literary character, and we find included among its members more men of title than those following literature strictly as a profession. The brilliancy of its members, however, in no way degenerated in consequence, and the genius of the later members of the club would fully bear comparison with that of the members by whom Johnson was surrounded, for among them were included men of such world-wide fame and varying ability as Lords Lansdowne, Macaulay, Aberdeen, Clarendon, Holland, Bishop Blomfield, Dean Milman, Hallam, Sydney Smith, Sir George Cornwall Lewis, Whewell, Grote, Eastlake, Dr. Hawtrey, and others of not less distinction. At one period the Club included among its members such a remarkable group of Homeric scholars as Grote, Gladstone, Macaulay, Milman, Cornwall Lewis, Mure and Hawtrey, and the result of this conjunction was, we are told, discussions of the highest interest; it could not be otherwise. "No subject could be more prolific of material for learned dispute than the Homeric poems; none better fitted to adorn and reward the controversy."

Sydney Smith and Macaulay were both regular attendants at the club; the latter was most devoted to it. The peculiar faculties of these two remarkable men were, it is said, "never more strikingly displayed than at the dinners of the club. The provocation to put forth wit, wisdom and learning was felt and fully answered, and every dinner vivified by them; the joyous humour of Sydney Smith playing over and lightening the more solid and copious learning of Macaulay." The latter might perhaps at

times be redundant in speech and argument, but "this could hardly be deemed an usurpation, seeing how they were employed; and if he seemed to trample upon an opponent it was not from ill-will that he did so, but simply from the overwhelming knowledge he brought to the combat."



Walkeringham Cross, Notts.

AT the conclusion of my notes on "The Crosses of Nottinghamshire" which appeared in the *Antiquary* during 1887-88, I announced my intention of adding to them on acquiring a sufficiency of additional matter. Though much of this matter, by correspondence and otherwise, has now come to hand, obviously it is of too fragmentary a character to interest other than specialists in this particular branch of study. The present paper, therefore, will not include them, being solely a collection of notes on the village cross at Walkeringham. Of this, a short account was printed with my previous notes in the November, 1887, issue; in which, however, nothing new will be found with the exception of the following passage relating to a crisis in its history: "Five years since it was in such a neglected and ruinous condition that by someone's order it was taken down, and the stones carted away to be used for agricultural purposes. But the late vicar, hearing opportunely of this barbarism, at his own cost caused the stones to be brought back and re-erected, but not on the same site."

This particular passage I gave on the authority of a gentleman residing in the neighbourhood, who probably received it as a noteworthy fragment of local folk-lore, without feeling sufficient interest to inquire into its truth. It embodies, however, a fair example of the unreliability of verbal statements and traditions in general, likewise a good illustration of the old proverb anent mountains and molehills; for, as a result of recent investigations, I find every statement comprised in that passage to be incorrect. A duty due to posterity—as well as to the present genera-

tion—in erasing a passage which might easily become an accepted item of local history, though one reason, is not the only excuse for the present paper. By way of compensation, so to speak, I intend to substitute a series of original yet reliable notes and observations on the subject, from sources which, it must be acknowledged, will not always be available. I refer to the best living authorities whom I have to thank for the unvarying courtesy I have always received at their hands—namely, the present Vicar of Walkeringham, Rev. W. A. Rouse; the late vicar, Rev. G. M. Gorham, now Vicar of Masham, Yorks; some members of the family of Mr. Gorham's predecessor, during whose incumbency the circumstance which formed the foundation of a preposterous tradition took place; and last, but not least, Mr. Joseph Taylor, churchwarden and oldest inhabitant, "quite the most trustworthy authority on bygone history of the place," as one correspondent informs me. The latter being 89 years of age and in full possession of his faculties, his evidence is valuable.

I now purpose to append some extracts from the letters in my possession; and if notes are sometimes included not strictly relevant to the subject, they will, no doubt, be welcomed by the gleaner of the future; and, I hope, not objected to by the present readers of "a magazine devoted to the study of the past." The first letter, from Mr. Gorham, dated February 28, 1888, enclosed also, for my inspection, a photograph of Walkeringham Church and Cross, taken by himself. The church, however, being evidently the object of the photograph, the Cross, unfortunately, was not included entire, and I have since vainly endeavoured to obtain a good sketch suitable for engraving. My correspondent (Vicar of Walkeringham, 1855-73) says:

"The partial demolition, etc., was a matter of history when I came there, and I never heard the particulars with accuracy or investigated them with care. As I understood the story, it was to the effect that *some* of the stones had been removed and already built into an oven (!) in a cottage just over the road, when 'Master Miller,' my most worthy and pious predecessor, pastor of that uncouth parish for thirty-nine years, intervened, recovered what he could, and re-edified the

decaying remains into the form shown in the photo. Portions of the steps were wanting, so that the ground-plan is incomplete. If I remember rightly, it was rudely circular or octagonal, with a segment chopped away horseshoe-like. It is not impressed on my memory that there was any tradition of removal, but it may well have been so; and in that case the removal was *probably* from a little green ten or twelve yards away, where now stands an object of far greater value in the eyes of modern enlightenment—the way-post!—three ways meeting and the Cross, *if ever there*, being deemed an obstruction. In my own vicariate a tree was planted by Dr. Jackson (then Bishop of Lincoln) on this triangle of green, and was shortly afterwards wantonly pulled up. But the general aspect suggested the steps having been cut away to accommodate a hedge and ditch which stood in 1855 where the brick wall is now indicated [in the photo]. . . . If I had been still parish priest of Walkeringham, it should have been my endeavour to get this relic restored aright as a Jubilee memorial of 1887."

Mr. G. Miller, of Dartford (son of the former incumbent of that name), through whose hands this letter was sent to me, is a native of Walkeringham, but as he left the place in 1846 he was unable to add any information, but promised to communicate with an elder sister. A day or two afterwards I received a final letter, informing me of their inability to add any notes concerning the Cross, "unless it be its use in connection with the stocks*—to be seen, though not used in their time, *i.e.*, before 1855" (the last year of their father's incumbency).

In an additional communication from Mr. Gorham, dated April 9, he says the photo, previously mentioned, took in very nearly all that remained of the Cross, "as the steps of it were truncated and ended abruptly as though chopped away." Shortly afterwards,

* In a letter received while the proof is in my hands, Mr. Rouse says, "The unfortunates who had to sit in the stocks had their backs against the flat side of the Cross, facing the hedge, a foot or so away. It is on this side that the bricks are inserted. Of course, before the enclosure they would face the open country, certainly a more pleasing prospect than the hedge, which would be likely to cause sadder reflections for those in later times whose visions were limited to it."

in reply to a letter of mine, I received the following epistle from Mr. Rouse, the present vicar, bearing date April 26 :

"With reference to the remains of old Cross here, so far as I can find, sometime after the inclosure (which was in 1806) in Mr. Miller's incumbency (1820-55*), the Cross was rebuilt—being then in a very tumble-down condition—in a position a *little* distance from the original situation (I suppose, because by the Award, land nearly up to the site of the Cross had been assigned to the neighbouring landowner). That, at least, appears to me to be the reason, for *now* a wall (which replaced a hedge, say, twenty-four years ago) is but 5 feet from flat side of pediment. I do not hear of any stones removed, though I have inquired of a son of Mr. Miller. As to measurements, the base is a segment of a circle, larger than a semicircle with a radius of 60 inches. I can but put it very roughly. There are three steps, 14½, 11 and 8 inches high respectively, supporting a square block 20 inches high with a fragment of shaft 5 inches high."

Accompanying this letter was a vertical plan of the Cross, on which the following dimensions were marked: Width of bottom step, 15 inches; second step, ditto; top step, from middle of one side of square block to edge of step, 16 inches; diameter of top step, 48 inches; diameter of flat side of base from corner to corner, 8 feet. This latter measurement, not being through the centre, does not represent the diameter proper, which would be 10 feet.

The final letter with which I conclude, dated May 14, I received from Mr. Rouse in reply to a letter addressed to the churchwarden. I give it in full, as it sums up the whole matter in a nutshell: "In reply to your letter, Mr. Taylor has asked me to inform you that, so far as he knows, the Cross has never been rebuilt in another spot, but always existed where it is, though it had become considerably dilapidated. I *had* gathered that its situation had been *slightly* altered, but I believe this resolves itself into the fact that the remains were built up *firmly*, iron clamps being used here and there for the better securing of the steps. Some stones

are non-existent, and bricks make up the deficiency. A man living in a small house just opposite, wanting a stone whereon to set his oven, fetched *one* of the loose stones of the Cross-steps, which Mr. Miller, hearing of, had brought back again. No *carting* would be required. Mountains are made out of molehills occasionally."

A. STAPLETON.



National Portraits.



IN their report for 1888, the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery deplore the loss of the late Mr. Beresford - Hope, who was for twenty-one years a member of the trust, and whose acquaintance with ecclesiastical history was always relied upon in deciding the eligibility of divines for admittance to the collection. Twenty-two pictures had been added by donation during the year, viz: (1) Michael Drayton, the poet (1563-1631), thus described: "Seen to the waist, in a black dress, and a large plain muslin ruff. His head is crowned with a green wreath of bay leaves and green berries, and the face turned in three-quarters to the left. His pale, clear blue eyes are looking at the spectator. The cheeks are close shaven; hair, moustaches, and the hair growing on the chin dark-brown. Light is admitted from the left-hand side, and the side of his nose is in shadow. Background a plain yellow-gray. Inscribed, Æt. Suæ 36, A.D. 1599. There are faint traces of an earlier inscription, apparently contemporary with the painting. Painted on panel. Painter unknown. Presented, 1888, by Thos. H. Woods, Esq." (2) General Stringer Lawrence (1697 - 1775), famous for his military services in India. A monument was erected by the East India Company in Westminster Abbey, and his statue was placed in the Court-room of the East India House, London. The present portrait, formerly in the possession of Sir Lawrence Palk, was painted by Gainsborough, and presented to the Gallery in the present year by Colonel Henry Yule, C.B., R.E.

* This does not coincide with the statement of Mr. Gorham, *supra*.

(Bengal). (3) Warren Hastings (1733-1818), described as "life-size, full-length, seated at a table, turned to the left with legs crossed; bald-headed, and the face seen in three-quarters to the left, the side of the nose being in shadow; eyes looking at the spectator. He wears a plain brown coat, white sprigged waistcoat, black kneebreeches, gray stockings, and black shoes, with square gold buckles. A marble bust of Lord Clive in a circular niche is on the wall to the left above; Hastings' hand rests on a table, and an Oriental book lies open beside it. This picture was formerly preserved in Government House, Calcutta. It has been engraved in mezzotinto by H. Hudson, and also recently by C. J. Tomkins. Painted by Arthur W. Devis. Deposited, February, 1888, by the Secretary of State for India." (4) George Chinnery, R.H.A. (*d.* 1857), the portrait and landscape painter. Painted by himself, and presented by his friend, Mr. John Dent. (5) Thomas Cheesman, the engraver (1760-1835), one of the ablest of Bartolozzi's pupils. Described as "a square canvas, with oval spandril to the frame. On the crosspiece of the modern strainer is written, 'Portrait of Thomas Cheesman, engraver, at 17, by his master, Francesco Bartolozzi, R.A. Bought by me from Mr. Rayner, of Francis Street. He had it of Messrs. Rawlins, who had it (many years ago) of Madame Vestris, who was Bartolozzi's niece. T. H. Ward.'" The picture was exhibited at Burlington House in 1887, and presented to the Gallery this year by Mr. T. Humphry Ward. (6) Thomas Gray, the poet. A bust, size of life, close shaven; eyeballs not marked, and without any drapery. Probably modelled by John Bacon, R.A. The picture was sold in a collection of MSS. and relics of Thomas Gray at Messrs. Sotheby's, in 1851. Presented by Mr. J. W. Butterworth, F.S.A. (7) George Henry Harlow, the portrait-painter. A lead-pencil drawing (vignette); small size; on a paper pasted at back is written: "George Henry Harlow. The painting by himself is in Gallery of Fine Art, Florence. This sketch was drawn by John Jackson, R.A., and given by him to my mother, 1819. George Harlow White." (8) Sir Thomas Malet (1582-1665), Judge, who suffered imprisonment and sequestration

as a Loyalist, and at the Restoration took part in the trial of the regicides. The portrait is thus described in the report: "Life-size, seen to the waist, in judge's robes, wearing black cap or cowl, edged and lined with white. The brown-complexioned face, with white hair at the sides, hiding the ears, is turned in three-quarters to the right; the very dark slaty-gray eyeballs fixed on the spectator, eyebrows broad, yellow-brown, elevated and angular; furrows on forehead and between the eyebrows, lips pale red; moustache and lip-tuft white. He wears a large square falling band next to the face and under the chin, and two tassels composed of white balls; the broad white fur cape of his judicial robes lies under this. The undercape is scarlet lined with white fur. Dark plain brown background." The painter is unknown; this portrait was bequeathed to the Gallery by Miss Gerard. (9) Horatio Viscount Nelson (1758-1805). "A full-length figure, on a small scale, seen standing to the right, on the deck of a vessel, in naval uniform; wearing a black cocked hat with the diamond aigrette, presented to him by the Sultan, on the front of it, pointing with his left hand to the right. His face is seen in three-quarters to the right, and the small eyes looking at the spectator. His blue coat, with golden epaulettes and facings, is decorated with medals and crossed by the red ribbon of the Order of the Bath; on his left breast is the Turkish Order of the Crescent. Behind him to the left is a large green-gray curtain, and below it a mounted piece of ordnance. A circular shield, with pointed boss, lies in the left-hand lower corner. On the distant sea to the right is a naval engagement, and in front is spread out over a wooden chair a magnificent robe of honour, or scarlet pelisse, lined with sable fur. His complexion is ruddy, the face smooth shaven, and the eyes dark gray; the wound over his right eye is clearly marked. The empty sleeve of his right arm is attached to the front of his waistcoat. His waistcoat, breeches, and stockings are plain white, and his feet, with black shoes and buckles, are planted in a dancing master's attitude. The name of the copyist is inscribed on the back of the chair supporting the scarlet robe. Pettigrew in his *Life of Nelson* (vol. i., p. 145), gives the following account of the Grand

Signior's presents: 'The pelisse was of the finest scarlet cloth, lined with most beautiful sable fur, and was magnificent. The aigrette consisted of an artificial plume formed of 13 fingers covered with diamonds. They were intended to represent the 13 ships taken and destroyed at the battle. The centre diamond and the four surrounding it were estimated at the value of £5,000, and there were at least 300 other diamonds of smaller size. These splendid presents were accompanied with a letter, in the handwriting of the Grand Signior, in which it was stated that the plume of Triumph or Chelongk was such as had never before been presented to any but victorious Mussulmans.' The life-size original picture which was painted at Palermo, and is now in the Admiralty, at Whitehall, is signed round the rim of the shield '*Leonard Guzzardi, 1799.*' The replica, from which this was copied, was presented to the Sultan by Lord Nelson after the battle of Aboukir, 1798. Copy by L. Acuarone from a picture by Leonard Guzzardi in the Imperial Treasury at Constantinople. Presented by H.I.M. the Sultan of Turkey." (10) Charles Robert Darwin, LL.D., F.R.S. (1809-1882), naturalist and scientific investigator. A terra-cotta bust. (11) Lord Lawrence, Governor-General of India. A terra-cotta bust. (12) B. W. Procter, lawyer, better known under his *nom de guerre*, "Barry Cornwall." A marble bust. (13) Adelaide Anne Procter, his daughter, famous for her verse. (14) John Keats (1795-1821). "The face only, no neck, seen in profile to the right. Light admitted from the right hand and somewhat further back, so as to show the side of the nose in shadow. The eyes are closed. Taken, it is said, in the studio of B. R. Haydon, his great friend. Copy in oil of a plaster mask. Presented by the Earl of Derby." (15) The Right Hon. Henry Grattan, M.P. (1750-1820), orator and statesman. "A small-sized portrait painted in oil on a square oak panel bevelled at the back. The figure, seen to the waist, wears the uniform of a captain of the famous Irish Volunteers, a scarlet coat with green facings, and plain gilt buttons down the latter. One golden epaulette is on his right shoulder. A plain black stock encircles his neck, and his white shirt-front and the lappets of his white waistcoat, thrown open, project in the centre.

The close-shaven face is turned in three-quarters to the left, and slightly drooping, his large slaty-gray eyes looking away in the same direction. The face is young and fresh-looking, with pink cheeks and clear red thin lips. The natural hair is full and flowing, but white with powder. The background is a plain dark yellow-brown tint. On the back of the oaken panel is written 'Henry Grattan, Esq., a real representative of the people.' Painted by Francis Wheatley, R.A. Presented by the executors of the late Doyné Courtenay Bell, Esq., F.S.A." (16) Stratford Canning, Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe. A terra-cotta bust by Boehm. (17) A set of four canvases exhibiting Groups of Patrons and Lovers of Art, who flourished in the first quarter of the present century. This valuable addition to the Gallery was presented by Mr. Edward Joseph. The portraits are small-sized full-length figures sketchily painted in oil colours; they were preparatory sketches by P. C. Wonder, of Utrecht, for a large picture of an imaginary assemblage of the finest paintings by celebrated masters arranged on the walls of a stately apartment, with various art lovers discussing them. The picture was commissioned by General Sir John Murray, about the year 1826, to match one of a similar subject by Gonzales Coques, already in his possession. The first group comprises portraits of General Sir John Murray, the Rev. William Holwell-Carr, Mr. G. Watson Taylor, M.P., and the artist, P. C. Wonder. The second group comprises Sir Abraham Hume, Bart., F.R.S., the Earl of Aberdeen, and Lord Farnborough. The third group comprises the Right Hon. George James Wellbore Agar-Ellis, M.P., afterwards Baron Dover—to whose initiative we owe the National Gallery—and Robert, Earl Grosvenor, whose father founded the magnificent collection of pictures at Grosvenor House. This picture contains a further portrait: "resting on the ground, in a gilt frame, is a portrait of George Granville, Marquis of Stafford, afterwards Duke of Sutherland." The fourth group consists of the seated figure of George O'Brien Wyndham, Earl of Egremont, owner of the noble collection of pictures at Petworth, which includes not only Holbeins and some of the finest Van Dycks in England, but very choice specimens by

Hogarth, Reynolds, Leslie, and Turner, with Flaxman's celebrated group of St. Michael. Before the Earl stands Sir Robert Peel, and on the other side Sir David Wilkie. (18) Francis Godolphin-Osborne, Marquis of Caermarthen, who became afterwards fifth Duke of Leeds (1751-1799); he was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs under Pitt from 1783 to 1791.

Three purchases were made by the Trustees during the year, and include portraits of Sir James Hope Grant (painted by Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A.); Mrs. Sarah Trimmer (1741-1810), educational writer (painted by Henry Howard, R.A.); and Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovel (1650-1707). Various pictures had been cleaned and lined since the date of the previous report, and some portraits had been placed under glass for better preservation.

It is no disparagement to the East-End of London to say that the collection is to a large extent lost in the Bethnal Green Museum. Surely there cannot be two opinions as to its proper locality. It should be among the nation's shrines—not far from Westminster Abbey, near the National Gallery. We venture to extract the concluding passages of the Trustees' report, in the hope that they may be further noticed elsewhere, for the public have every right to know that the responsibility for the present state of things rests with the Treasury:

"All the portraits that have been acquired either by donation or purchase since the autumn of 1885 have, with one exception, No. 758 of the Registration List, been deposited in the temporary official apartments at Westminster in the hope that they may shortly be exhibited to the public in a central locality.

"No steps have been taken since their last annual report towards procuring a suitable building for housing the national portraits. The Trustees have waited on the First Lord of the Treasury, and presented a memorial urging upon him the desirability of providing a permanent home for the pictures now located on loan in the Bethnal Green Museum. To this he was pleased to reply that he would report to his colleagues what had passed, and that he would give the matter his earnest and serious consideration.

"The Trustees would now conclude their report by expressing an earnest hope, as they did in their last, that as little delay as possible may take place in providing a suitable gallery for the collection of national portraits, the number and historical importance of which increases every year."



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Old Prejudices against Coal.—The history of coal reads like a romance, and presents facts of a curious and interesting character. It is generally believed that the ancient Britons burned coal before the arrival of the Romans in this country. Our Anglo-Saxon ancestors consumed it to a limited extent, but, remarkable to relate, it is not named in the annals of the Danish usurpation nor under the Norman monarchs.

Perhaps the earliest document in which coal is mentioned is in *Bishop Pudsey's Boldon Book*, and it is in the year 1180. It is generally asserted that in the year 1234 Henry III. granted a charter to the freemen of Newcastle-on-Tyne "to dig stones and coal" in the common soil without the walls of the town. But it is proved beyond doubt, after recent and careful investigation, that this statement must be regarded as an historical fiction. It was not until the reign of Edward III., and in the year 1350, that the townsmen of Newcastle received such a privilege. Between 1260-63 Walter de Clifford obtained permission from the King "to dig coals within the forests of Le Clie, to sell or give away." This was the earliest notice of coal in Shropshire. Coal-pits are named at Wednesbury in 1315. Much of the coal at this early period was most probably quarried, and not mined. The Earl of Winchester, some time between the years 1210 and 1219, granted to the monks of Newbattle, Midlothian, a coalfield situated between the burn of Whytrig and the lands of Pontekyn, Inveresk. This is understood to be the first coal worked in Scotland. The monks of Dunfermline soon followed the example of their brethren at Newbattle, and obtained coal from their lands

at Pinkie and Inveresk. For nearly a century after the discovery of the "blackstone," as it was called, the peasantry were its chief consumers.

In the reign of Edward I., the aversion to this fuel was most pronounced, and a proclamation was issued prohibiting its use in London. Even dyers, brewers, etc., were forbidden to burn coal on pain of a fine, loss of furnace, etc. This stringent law was not merely confined to the City; it extended to the suburbs. The proclamation was brought about by the prelates, nobles, and gentry, who complained that they could not stay in town on account of "the noisome smell and thick air" caused by burning coal. Stow, referring to this period, says: "The nice dames of London would not come into any house or room where sea-coals were burned, nor willingly eat of the meat that was even sod or roasted with sea-coal." It was in the reign of Edward I. that a man was tried, convicted, and executed for the crime of burning sea-coal in London. The students of Oxford and Cambridge were not permitted to have fires until the days of Henry VIII., and to warm themselves they ran for some distance—certainly a cheap mode of obtaining warmth.

Towards the reign of Elizabeth coal was becoming a popular kind of fuel, chiefly owing to the difficulty of obtaining a cheap and plentiful supply of wood. A strong prejudice, however, lingered against it, and the Queen prohibited the burning of coal in London during the sitting of Parliament, for it was feared that "the health of the knights of the shires might suffer during their abode in the metropolis." In the days of Charles I. the use of coal became very general, and as the demand increased the price went up to such an extent as to preclude the poor from obtaining it. Not a few died from cold for want of fires. In 1643 was published a pamphlet, stating on the imprint:

Printed in the year

That sea-coal was exceeding dear.

Duties were laid on coal after the Great Fire of London to raise money to rebuild St. Paul's and fifty other churches. Charles II., in the year 1677, granted to one of his natural children and his heirs a duty on coal of one shilling per chaldron. This tax was known

as the "Richmond Shilling," and was continued down to 1800, when it was purchased by the Government. Charles also, in 1662, imposed a tax known as the "hearth-tax," on every fireplace or hearth in England, and he raised by it about £20,000 per annum. It was abolished by William and Mary after the revolution in 1689, imposed again, and subsequently abolished. A quaint epitaph at Folkestone to the memory of Rebecca Rodgers, who died on August 22nd, 1688, aged forty-four years, refers to the tax as follows:

A home she hath; it's made of such good fashion
The tenant ne'er shall pay for reparation;
Nor will her landlord ever raise the rent,
Or turn her out of doors for non-payment;
From chimney money, too, this cell is free;
To such a house who would not tenant be?

WM. ANDREWS.

Art in Ireland.—The following account of deceased artists resident in Belfast, was contributed by Mr. Robert M. Young to the catalogue of the recent Art Exhibition, held in the Free Library, at Belfast: "The first Belfast artist of which there is any record seems to have been J. Wilson, who painted several good portraits in the latter half of the last century. The portraits exhibited prior to this date were probably executed by Dublin and English artists. In 1801 Thomas Robinson, a pupil of Romney, and married to his daughter, settled in Belfast, where he lived till 1808. He was patronised by Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore, and painted several of the portraits exhibited. His finest work, the 'Review of the Volunteers,' or, as it is called in Redgrave's Dictionary, 'Military Procession in Belfast in honour of Lord Nelson,' is hung in the central portion of Room B, and is the most valuable local painting extant, giving portraits of all the prominent citizens at the time, 1804. Thomas Robinson was president of the Society of Artists, Dublin, and died there, 1810. His son, George Romney, became Astronomer Royal at Armagh. Only the name of one artist—Charles Poole—is given in the earliest Belfast Directory, 1819. J. Atkins was a young Belfast artist of great promise. He began his career as an heraldic coach-painter, was sent to Rome by the late Narcissus Batt, and exhibited portraits in the Royal Academy in 1831 and 1833. After some years spent in

Italy, he went to Constantinople to paint the portrait of the Sultan, and died at Malta on his return, in 1834. Richard Rothwell, R.H.A., who married the daughter of Dr. Andrew Marshall, a well-known Belfast physician, exhibited at the Royal Academy for the first time in 1830, numbering among his sitters the Duchess of Kent, and died in Rome, 1868. In 1836 the Association of Artists, Belfast, was instituted. The members were—Hugh Fraser, A.R.H.A.; Samuel Hawksett, N. J. Crowley, A.R.H.A.; Andrew Nicholl, A.R.H.A.; Robert Warrington, J. W. Millar, William Nicholl, Henry M'Manus. Associates—Henry Maguire, W. C. Nixon, and John F. Jackson. Of these artists there are examples of the following shown—Hugh Fraser, R.H.A., born at Dromore, practised as a landscape artist in oil for many years. Samuel Hawksett painted most of the best portraits at this period of local history. N. J. Crowley, R.H.A., was living in Belfast in 1835, exhibited in the Royal Academy in the same year, died in 1857. Andrew Nicholl, R.H.A., so well known for his watercolours, including a series of views painted in Ceylon, for Sir J. E. Tennent, died recently in London at an advanced age. Robert Warrington was both a portrait and a landscape artist, but left few examples. Being an accomplished painter in other departments than portraiture, he was commissioned by the late John Cunningham, of Macedon, to make copies of some of the gems in the Dulwich Gallery, several of which are exhibited in the present collection. Miss Lamont had much ability as a miniaturist for a long period, commencing about 1840. Dr. James Moore, A.R.H.A., was an artist of great talent; recently deceased. Unfortunately only a few of his pictures have been available for this occasion, but it is hoped that they will be fully shown at some future time."

Some Old Law Cases (*concluded*).—

Much curious information turns up in glancing through the pages of our old reporters with regard to customs, and the unwillingness of the inhabitants of a parish to pay what may be deemed lawful dues, and we find this disinclination brought into the Court of King's Bench in the Michaelmas of 7 Will. III. in the case of *Harman v. Renew*.

This was a motion for a prohibition in the Consistory Court of London on the statute 22 Chas. II., cap. 11, which unites the parish of St. Mary Bothaw to the parish of St. Swithin. The first-named church, having been consumed in the Fire of London in 1666 and never rebuilt, was to all intents and purposes not in existence. The writer saw many years ago all that remained of it before the erection of the new buildings now standing upon its site, the sole remnant being that of a crypt. The inhabitants of St. Mary Bothaw declined to pay money levied for the repair of St. Swithin. Holt said that at common law, by concurrence of the parson, patron, and ordinary, churches might be united to each other, but not parishes. Powel (Justice) in a similar case in the Common Bench, laid down the law that union was of spiritual causance till 37 Hen. VIII., cap. 21, and that the incumbent of the united churches is extinct, but tithes and modus continue afterwards. Treby (C. J.) remarks that the ancient church or rectory remains not, but this is a new creature, a new church, and a new patronage. In Skinner's dictum it is reported that both parishes shall repair a church made a parish church.

In the case of *Ball v. Cross* (4 Jac. II.), an action was brought in consequence of the refusal of the inhabitants of a certain chapelry to repair the parish church, which they had always used till the time of Henry VIII., when the bishop was prevailed upon to consecrate a burial-ground for them. Upon this they argued that they had no right to repair an edifice to which they resorted not; but Holt, laying down the law, gave judgment that the inhabitants were bound to repair both the chancel and the church, although the freehold was in the parson, for it was a portion of his glebe, and he might bring an action of ejectment. In this case it could only be that the chapelry, not being coeval, was only a chapel-of-ease to the mother-church, for they buried in it till the days of Henry VIII., and they then agreed to repair the church.

In a case tried 4 James II., the action was against one Makepeace, who lived in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, but who occupied lands in the diocese of Peterborough,

in the parish of D., and was there taxed, as an inhabitant, by reason of land, to pay a rate levied for the new casting of bells for the church. He refused, and was therefore sued in the Court of the Bishop of Peterborough. The Court laid it down "(1) that it was not a citing out of the diocese within the stat. 32 Hen. VIII., cap. 9, for he was an inhabitant where he occupied land as well as where he personally resided; (2) though he does not personally live in the parish, yet by holding lands there he was taxable, and whereas it was pretended that bells were an ornament, it was held that they were more than mere ornaments, for they were as necessary as a steeple, which is no use without bells." Holt said it was confessed he was an inhabitant, so how could he not be an inhabitant as to the ornaments of the church?

3 Will. III., the case of *Payne v. Partridge* and others, set forth that the vill of Littleport (county Cambridge) is an ancient vill, and that there has been time out of mind a ferry over the river there, and that it was a common passage for all the King's people paying toll, and that the inhabitants of Littleport living in the ancient messuages or cottages there had passage toll free, and that the defendant was the owner of the ferry there, and let it decay, and that the plaintiff sought to cross by means of the ferry, but the defendant refused to allow him. The defendant pleaded that he had built a bridge in the place of the ferry. Upon demurrer the Court held that he could not let down the ferry and put up a bridge without license; that custom was good in the nature of an easement, but that the custom consisted not in the right to pass, for that was common to all the King's subjects, but in the right to pass toll free; that therefore plaintiff could not maintain action for not passing, for so any subject might bring actions which would be endless. *Aliter*, if toll had been exacted and paid by him, that had been a special damage, but without special damage he can only indict or bring information.

The next two cases are as to what is ancient demesne. The first was taken in the King's Bench in the Michaelmas Term, 3 Will. and Mary, and was an action of ejectment (*Baker v. Wich*), and the defendant pleaded that the lands were parcel of the Manor of Bray, also

that the manor was ancient demesne, and held of the Crown. On the one hand, it was held as naught, as it was understood the lands in question were part of the demesne, and supposing they were ancient demesne, yet the manor and the demesnes of the manor were impleadable at common law, and not in the lord's court, for then the lord would be judge in his own case. On the other side, ancient demesne lands of the manor are impleadable in the Court of ancient demesne, and there only. And therefore, because he does not plead that these were lands held of the Manor of Bray, judgment quod respondeat ouster.

Holt was also the judge who tried the case of *Hunt v. Burn*, 12 Will. III., and the question arose as to whether tenants in ancient demesne were free as to their persons, but not as to their estates. In his judgment he says that "Bracton calls them villani privilegiata, and it seems as free as to their persons, not as to estates. The question to be tried is whether ancient demesne or frank free. If you plead that the manor of D. is ancient demesne, you ought to aver it by the record of Domesday, for that is the trial of it; but if you plead that such a place is parcel of a manor which is ancient demesne, then you are to conclude the contrary, for parcel or not parcel is triable per pais 2 E. III., 15 b., *Thos. de Grenham's case*. . . . But it seems to me the other side may traverse its being ancient demesne, and so it was between *Saunders v. Welch*, C. B. Pasch. 9 Jac. Issue was whether the manor of Otterbury was ancient demesne, and the Court awarded quod querens habeat recordum libri de Domesday hic in octabis Hillarii. At that day the plaintiff had the book brought in by a porter. It appeared by the book that Edward Confessor anno regni sui domino octavo had given this manor Abbati Rotonensis, and the said manor was not in the title de terra regis; for all lands held in ancient demesne which the Confessor had were by William the Conqueror anno regno sui vicessimo written in the book called Domesday under the title de terra regis; but those which were given away by Edward the Confessor, and which are not written in the book called Domesday under the title de terra regis, are not ancient demesne, and a

respondeat ouster was awarded. By a recovery of the land at common law it becomes frank free for ever; but a recovery against the tenant is reversible by the lord by writ of deceit, and such a recovery makes it only fieri facias, quamdiu it continues unreversed; but when it is reversed it becomes ancient demesne again."—W. H. BROWN.



Antiquarian News.

MR. W. P. JERVIS, the author of the well-known work in three volumes, on the mineral resources of Italy (*I Tesori sotterranei dell' Italia*), is about to publish an additional volume, which will be devoted to a description of the building stones of the country. For many years he has been engaged in studying the ancient buildings of Italy, with the view of determining the source of the stones employed in their construction; and the forthcoming volume will embody the results of his investigations.

The *Builder* has been informed by Mr. A. Oliver that the carved red lion, which was to be seen a few years ago at the corner of an old timber house in Holywell Street, Strand (the house has been demolished), has been placed in the Guildhall Museum.

The British Museum has just acquired a collection of books which has had a curious history. They belonged to Prince Jerome Bonaparte, and were in the Palais Royal at the time of its destruction. Although they were saved they bear marks of the fire, being singed and otherwise disfigured in various places. They were subsequently sent to the prince's residence in Switzerland, and found their way into the hands of a bookseller of Geneva, who issued a catalogue of them, and the British Museum purchased a selection of the most interesting which were not already in the library. It is intended that the books shall not be distributed throughout the library under their respective headings, but that they shall remain together as a memento of the Commune. Some of them belonged to the prince's father, King Jerome of Westphalia. Some of these are marked with the initial "J" and a crown, others with a "J" and "C" interlaced, the latter initial representing King Jerome's queen, Catherine. Those acquired by Prince Jerome before the Empire are stamped as belonging to the library of the citizen Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, but after the establishment of the Second Empire this stamp is replaced by a large "N" with an eagle's head at the

top, and in some cases the later stamp of the Imperial Prince is placed over the earlier one of the simple citizen.

An English archaeological and scientific weekly paper called *The Owl* has just been brought out at Nicosia, in Cyprus.

On the site of the Roman forum of ancient Cam-podunum in Bavaria (the modern Kempten) some excavations have taken place, and the remains of a villa discovered with part of the hypocausts still preserved, the præfurnium being entire, and, moreover, the sub-structions of a large columned hall, which may have been a temple or palace.—*Athenæum*.

The work on *Corporation Plate*, upon which the late Llewellyn Jewitt was engaged for many years, has been taken up and finished by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, assistant secretary to the Society of Antiquaries; and it will be published this winter, in two royal quarto volumes, illustrated, by Messrs. Bemrose and Sons. It embraces every borough in England and Wales, giving detailed notices of the maces, swords of state, seals, chains, arms, plate, and other treasure belonging to each.

The subject of old wineglasses and goblets is about to receive the treatment which its interest should have procured sooner. Mr. Albert Hartshorne, of Brad-bourne Hall, Wirksworth, has in preparation a work on *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Wineglasses and Goblets*, which he hopes to illustrate with about 400 full-sized drawings by his own hand. He will be glad of any notes of dated examples with descriptions and dimensions, their shapes, and the fashion of the stems, and references to collections of such objects.

The following are some of the prices realized by topographical works at a recent sale at Messrs. Hodgson's rooms: Howitt's *Northern Heights of London*, 8vo., inlaid to royal 4to. size, and extended to three portly volumes by the insertion of portraits, views, cuttings, autograph letters, and the like, £13; similarly Grangerised and companion copies of Lewis's *History of St. Mary, Islington* (1842), two volumes, £8; Park's *Topography and Natural History of Hampstead* (1814), £6; Tomlins's *Perambulation of Islington* (1858), £4 12s. 6d.; Nelson's *History, Topography, and Antiquities of St. Mary, Islington* (1811), £3 7s. 6d.; and Palmer's *History of St. Pancras* (1870), many of the views on India paper, £3 3s.; a set of Lysons' *Environs, and Middlesex Parishes*, was bought for three guineas. Owen Jones and Jules Gourey's *Alhambra*, having many of the lithographs in gold and colours, two volumes, elephant folio size, on large paper, somewhat foxed, £4 17s. 6d.; and J. W. Clark's *Cambridge*, with etchings on India

paper, and vignettes, all artists' proofs, by A. Brunet-Debaines, H. Toussaint, and G. Greux, folio, of which only fifty copies were printed (1881), £2 10s.; Godwin's *Churches of London* (1838), an excellent copy, on large paper, obtained 13s.; Britton and Pugin's *Public Buildings of London*, with all the plates, large paper (1825), 7s.; Cox's *Annals of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate* (1876), 10s. The works of Camden, Strutt, Dugdale, Leland, and Stukeley, as well as those of Sheraton, Parker, Neale, Britton, Pugin, Isabelle, Brayley, and others, were represented in the sale.

An interesting discovery has been made on Mr. H. Jones's estate in Maldon Road, Essex. While using the plough and hod for cutting the new Beaconsfield Road through the estate, the workmen came upon a large deposit of animal remains, consisting of bones, etc., in small fragments. A close examination revealed the fact that some of these fragments had been worked, and further search brought to light remains of small bone implements in all stages of manufacture. Mr. Hy. Laver, F.S.A., was communicated with, and he pronounced the discovery a most interesting one, the remains probably being the *débris* resulting from the manufacture of bone implements of the Romano-British period. The deposit, which was about ten feet square, is now broken up, but specimens of the implements will no doubt be placed in the museum.

The third of this year's course of Rhind lectures in archaeology, in connection with the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, on the "Lake Dwellings of Europe," was delivered on October 24, in the Freemasons' Hall, George Street, Edinburgh, by Dr. Robert Munro, in presence of a large audience. The lecture was devoted to the consideration of the lake dwellings of Italy in the valley of the Po. He began by making reference to the visits of Desor and Montillet to Lombardy, and the result of their discoveries. The surface of the Lake of Varese was 770 feet above the level of the sea, and the district round about was rich and well cultivated. Two lake dwellings were first come upon, and at the end of the same year the total number found was six, but since then another has been discovered. Bits of charcoal and broken piles were come upon, and other articles which were found gave evidence of the existence in past times of lake dwellings. Monate, Garda, and other lakes were also explored, with the result that unquestionable evidence of lake dwellings was found. The remarkable station of Lagozza was next touched upon, and Dr. Munro mentioned that pottery was the chief kind of remains of the lake dwellings found. There was no sign of fishing or hunting gear come upon, but there were found spindles and bits of thread. It was the opinion of one celebrated gentleman that

the inhabitants of the village were vegetarians. At Polada numerous interesting and peculiar articles were discovered which established emphatically the existence of lake dwellings. The lecturer then spoke of the history, description, and significance of the Terramara deposits.

An old and beautiful brass seal, in a state of perfect preservation, has been lately found at Bodmin. Some fine impressions have already been taken by the Rev. W. Iago, B.A.

Egypt is yielding up treasures in the shape of Cuneiform tablets, from which skilled experts enable us to fill up gaps in our historical records. The British Museum has lately received 81 tablets found in the grave of a royal scribe of Amenophis III. and IV., of the 18th dynasty, which are now in process of translation by Mr. Budge. Amenophis was a mighty hunter, who during the first ten years of his reign killed 102 lions with his own hand in the plains of Mesopotamia. On one of these expeditions he fell in love with Ti, the daughter of Tushratta, king of the country, who, on her marriage with Amenophis, took to Egypt 317 of her principal ladies. Under her favour a large number of Semites settled there, and acquired great possessions. With the advent to power of the 19th dynasty a change came over their fortunes. They were set to the uncongenial tasks of making bricks and of building walls and pyramids; and, finally, the oppression they endured ended in the outbreak which led to their triumphing gloriously over their task-masters in the waters of the Red Sea.

The parish church of Seend (Wiltshire) has been overhauled, and all kinds of alterations made. A published account of what has taken place—written in that tone of modest complacency proper to the theme—inform us that "a large monument has been removed to the west wall of the nave from the south angle of the chancel arch." But against this should fairly be set the discovery of a very interesting wall-painting, apparently dating from the fifteenth century, and the opening to view of the staircase and doorway to the rood-loft.

An archaeological discovery of great interest has been made in the tidal river Hamble, near Botley, Hants. A boathouse is being built at the point of the junction of the Curdrige Creek with the river, some little distance above the spot where there is a still existing wreck of a Danish man-of-war. In removing the mud and alluvial soil to make sufficient waterway, something hard was encountered, which on being carefully uncovered proved to be a portion of a possibly pre-historic canoe—certainly pre-Roman. It is a few feet higher up the river than the old Roman

hardway or landing-place, and was evidently sunk close to the shore. It is about 12 feet long by 2½ feet wide, beautifully carved, and in a fairly good state of preservation. Some question of ownership is likely to arise, as it was discovered below high-water mark. The adjacent land teems with fragmentary specimens of Roman pottery, bricks, etc., and it is anticipated that the explorations will lead to further discoveries.

The village church at Upper Helmsley, near Stamford Bridge, has been rebuilt upon its old foundations of the tenth century.

The Manesse manuscript presented to the Bibliotheca Palatina, at Heidelberg, by the late Emperor Frederick, is said to be very precious. It consists of love songs of the fourteenth century, and there are 429 pages of parchment, richly ornamented, and containing 7,000 verses by 140 poets. It was placed in the Bibliotheca Palatina, at Heidelberg, in 1607, having been purchased from a Swiss baron of Hohn-Sax, and was taken away by the French during the Thirty Years' War, and now, after the lapse of two centuries and a half, it has been recovered.

On October 16, a "Goethefeier" was held at Stafa, on the Lake of Zurich, the chief feature of which was the unveiling of the tablet affixed to the house in which Goethe resided in the autumn of 1797 with his friend Meyer.

The Earl of Winchilsea contemplates restoring Kirby Hall. He recently entertained, in the ruined Hall, a party of friends and professional gentlemen to discuss his project. A representative of a local newspaper was invited, and the following is taken from his account: "The ruins of Kirby Hall are a short distance from Weldon Station, on the Midland Line, standing amidst a fertile and well-wooded country, whose belts of trees now display in their foliage the beautiful autumn tints that give the country an attraction of its own at the season of falling leaves. Fifty years have passed since the old gray walls of Kirby Hall, nestling in the shadow of surrounding trees, were inhabited, and the building is in greater part roofless. Its exterior architecture, however, still remains in enduring stone, to be admired as one of the finest examples of Elizabethan design to be found, and though the main roof is gone, and the grass grows where once were floors, the walls, with the old-fashioned oriel windows and broken panes of glass, are still in an admirable state of preservation for so ancient a building. It cannot be said, as Sir Walter Scott remarked of Melrose, that the sun gilds but to flout these gray ruins, whatever enhancing effect moonlight might have, from a romantic point of view. As appears from the crest of a boar's-head out of a ducal coronet on several parts of the building, the hall was

originally built for the Stafford family, and in 1577 it became the property of Sir Christopher Hatton, who here entertained Queen Elizabeth with great splendour. For a long period Kirby Hall was the principal seat of the Hattons—the family name of the Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham—and like most buildings of that time, it is constructed round a quadrangle. Above the entrance on the north side was a chapel, and on the south side is a great hall, and also what were the chief living rooms of the family; while on the western side there was a picture gallery 150 feet long, and on the east of the quadrangle the offices and bedrooms. The best preserved portions of the buildings are the rooms on the south side, where the principal entrance was, and in one of these rooms there was shown for the inspection of the visitors, some quaint MSS. pertaining to the family. Most interesting was an illuminated MS. by Sir William Dugdale containing exact drawings made in 1640 of many arms and monuments then existing in Peterborough, Lincoln, and other cathedrals, but soon afterwards destroyed. In the fast decaying great hall, which often in the olden days echoed with the sounds of festivity, luncheon was served to the visitors, under the presidency of the Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham, and among those present were Mr. Lucas, A.R.A.; Mr. Blomfield, A.R.A.; Mr. Scott, Mr. Christian, Mr. Barry, Colonel Gourand, Colonel North, Mr. T. Catling, Mr. A. M. Broadley, and the Hon. Harold Finch-Hatton and the Hon. Stormont Finch-Hatton. Hung in the Hall for the occasion were portraits of Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Hatton the Comptroller, and a view of Kirby as in Lord Chancellor Hatton's time. It was stated in a speech by the Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham, now the representative of the family, that it was his desire to preserve, if not to restore these ruins. This led to the explanation by his lordship that a primary object of the gathering that day was to introduce to notice the qualities of the Weldon stone raised in adjacent quarries on this estate. Of this stone Kirby Hall was built, and of the endurance of such material, therefore, all were able to judge. The Weldon stone, indeed, was much used at one time. Old St. Paul's Cathedral, which was destroyed by fire, was, according to report, built with this material, as also St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet Street, and many of the colleges at Cambridge. Latterly, however, the quarries have been little worked, but it is now the intention of the Earl of Winchilsea to fully develop them, and he jocularly remarked in his speech at the luncheon that if Kirby Hall is ever to have a roof put on it again it will be from the Weldon stone. Quitting the ancient hall the party were then driven to the quarries, and inspected the new workings that have been opened. The stone is of a creamy colour, and is represented as hardening to

exposure to the weather. Of its durability proof was further yielded by some old structures of this material which were subsequently visited. One was the triangular cross at Gedding, built by Edward I. in honour of his consort Queen Eleanor. This is a specimen of the three triangular monuments of ancient date known to exist in England, and another is the triangular tower built by Sir Thomas Gresham about 1590, in the same neighbourhood, which was likewise examined. A visit was also paid to Rushden Hall, which, built in 1595, is a fine example of an English house of that period, still in perfect repair, being now the residence of Mr. W. Clarke Thornhill. From the triangular tower mentioned, which is at Rushden, a view is obtained of the famous battlefield of Naseby, and, indeed, at Rothwell Church, not far off, there is a charnel house that contained vast quantities of human bones, supposed to be those of the victims of that celebrated battle."

We gladly reproduce from a Peterborough newspaper the following account of a crypt to be built in Peterborough Cathedral, in which will be preserved the ancient remains that have been found in course of the work of restoration: "A work is now proceeding in the Cathedral for which the promoters, the Cathedral Restoration Committee, will earn the gratitude of posterity. It is the formation of a substantial crypt beneath the south transept of the Cathedral, so as to keep open for inspection in perpetuity the valuable historical find in the shape of the foundation plan of the early Saxon church. In previous articles devoted to the purpose we have described from time to time the excavation of the great walls, broken off, as it were, just above the ground, with plentiful evidences of fire around, by which element the sacred edifice was destroyed. The eyes of a world of antiquarians have viewed these remains with interest, and even superlative value is locally placed upon their discovery, owing to the fact that they supply a missing link in the history of the structural records of the Christian Church at Peterborough, inasmuch as not a tittle of evidence of the size, substance, shape, or position of this early church existing before the Thousand commenced was to be found in any writings whatever. It has been found that the church was cruciform, that its floor was plastered, that it had nave, transepts, choir and bell tower, that it was substantially in part built of stone, and occupied a position east and west as the present building. The choir was discovered under the south transept of the Cathedral, together with the altar space and elevated east end, the east walls of the north and south transept, and in the nave of the Cathedral approaching the lantern the west and north walls of the north transept. It has been shown to be a roomy church, a church with plaster seats; a primitive church in every way. It therefore went

hard with the spirit of the antiquarian when it was learned that the dimensions having been taken the excavations would be filled up. This is believed to have caused an undercurrent of dissatisfaction, and to have led to the very happy conclusion which we now report. An apartment will now be built underground over and around the whole of the foundation, and this crypt will be entered by two gangways, through which visitors will be conducted on payment of a small charge."

On November 1, two human thigh-bones were found by some workmen employed in repairing the pavement of Nun Street, Newcastle. There was also discovered a small headstone, but nothing on it to indicate when the remains were interred. On the previous day the remains of a skeleton were found at the same place. The skull was in a fairly good state of preservation, and contained a number of teeth in excellent condition. The discovery was made at a depth of only two feet. The old convent, from which Nun Street takes its name, once stood on the spot where the remains were found.

We have received from Mr. Robert M. Young a copy of *The Northern Whig*, containing an account of the recent exhibition of paintings in the Free Library at Belfast. In the "Antiquary's Note-Book" will be found an excerpt from Mr. Young's account of deceased Belfast artists; and we are glad to hear from him that Belfast has abandoned its neglect of art, and that works of art are now being studied in relation to the history of the province.

In a recent issue of the *Western Morning News* appeared an account of the restoration of St. Merryn Church, in the main road between Padstow and Berruthan Steps. We are told that the church had been re-opened, after having undergone "a thorough restoration." At the end of the account we are informed very complacently that "the only part of the church which has not been touched is the tower;" and we are assured that the only reason the tower escaped was that there was no more money. At last we know what will stay the hand of the restorer. All that is needed is an enactment that henceforth all restoration work must be gratuitous and honorary. We reproduce here a portion of this account, but spare our readers the enumeration of the worst restoration offences: "The plan of the church consists of nave, chancel and western tower, south aisle, north transept, and north and south porches. The fabric is principally of fifteenth century date, but the north transept and portions of the chancel walls are of early fourteenth century date. Originally the chancel had a transept on the south side corresponding to that now existing on the north side, but in the thirteenth century the south transept was swept away, and the

present south aisle built. Unfortunately the early windows were destroyed, with the exception of a narrow light with cusped ogee head on the east of the north transept; and the end window of the transept was a squared sashed one. There existed, however, old windows of late fourteenth century date, one west of the south porch, and one on the north of the chancel, which indicate that certain alterations were made subsequent to the original plan of the church. These windows have square labels. In the north wall of the chancel there is a break which marks the line of the original chancel arch. The eastern portion of the south chancel wall is a part of the original, and here there is also a break in the thickness of the wall, which is provided for in the roof by a corbelled wall plate on this side. The fifteenth century arcade consists of seven bays. These are all of catacluse stone, which comes from the parish, and are noteworthy for the variety of their carved capitals. It would have been very difficult, however, for strangers to say of what kind of stone they were carved, because all the pillars and arcades were painted black. It is difficult to assign a satisfactory reason, except, perhaps, that the churchwardens' tastes were gratified by the great contrast between the whitewashed walls and the blackened pillars, why this beautiful blue-coloured stone, now made clean by potash, should have been hidden by paint. Certain alterations had also been made in the south aisle, which have now been removed. In order to accommodate a mural tablet the easternmost of the side windows was blocked up, and a private door formed to a pew. This doorway has now been built up, and the window restored. The east window of this aisle was destroyed, but the architect has been able to restore it with portions of the original tracery which were found in the vicarage garden. The window at the east end of the chancel was a wretched three-light one, placed there about twenty-five years ago. This has been put at the north end of the north transept, and a beautiful five-light window substituted. The roofs of the nave, the chancel, and the south aisle are of fifteenth-century date, with moulded principals and purlins, and there were some old finely-carved bosses. Several moulded purlins have been removed, and a number of new oak bosses put to match the old. The north transept has been quite rebuilt, as the stone of which the walls was built was of such a worthless description that nothing short of rebuilding was bound to suffice. The roof, too, was in a most insecure condition, and had to be entirely replaced by a new one. Many other parts of the walls have been rebuilt, and several windows have been restored from fragments found in different parts of the parish. The font is a very handsome one of catacluse stone. On it are beautifully carved figures of the Twelve Apostles, and it stands on four pillars.

It was discovered about fifty years ago on the site of the ruins of Constantine Church, an ancient chapelry of this parish, and was erected in its present position. The ancient granite font belonging to the church was given by the vicar to Mr. Stephens, who held the livings of Little Petheric and Maker, and he transferred it to the church of the latter parish, where at present it remains."

The Rev. H. J. Simpson is preparing for publication, by subscription—demy quarto—*Illustrations of Bromholm Priory*, with plan, description, and ten views, including the cross for which the Priory was so famous.

Although so termed in a local newspaper, what has been done to the church porch of Castor (Northampton) does not merit the reproach of "restoration." It is rather intelligent reparation. The roof has been thoroughly repaired. The old principal ridge and purlin are retained and strengthened. New oak moulded plates, of same design as the old, were found to be necessary, and all new oak span 6 by 4 English, and the same covered with best red 1½ deal boards, and covered on top with new lead 6 lb. to the foot, and the gutters with 7 lb. lead and proper down pipes conveying the water clear from the building. The outer walls have been thoroughly repaired and the plaster cleared off the inside (the porch was last repaired in 1733), thereby showing the old rude masonry. Parts of the remains of the old Norman porch were discovered by several heads belonging to the Corbel course of same style as in the south transept. These have been brought prominently forward, and will be found interesting to lovers of antiquity.

At the November meeting of "The Sette of Odd Volumes" held at Willis's Rooms, "his Oddship, Brother Venables," presiding, supported by Brother Welsh, the "Chapman to the Sette," Dr. Todhunter was installed a brother of the "Sette." Brother Brodie-Innes read a paper on "The Inter-Relation of Supernatural Phenomena," in which he held up the light of the ancient mystic philosophers to indicate the limitations of modern materialism.

It appears that owing to "restoration," Landaff Cathedral is now in a "dangerous state." We reproduce without further comment, the following from a local paper: "When this cathedral was restored, about fifteen years ago, the diocesan architect, the late Mr. John Pritchard, surmounted the south-west tower with a spire, the base of which is surrounded with large statues of Bishop Ollivant, St. Dubricius, and others connected with the cathedral. At that time Mr. Freeman, a great authority upon ecclesiastical architecture, not only denounced the spire as a

work not in keeping with the remainder of the structure, but also doubted, as the old tower was only surmounted with a pinnacle, whether the foundation would carry the spire. Ten years ago a rather alarming crack appeared in the tower and recently a second one, still more alarming. Mr. Seddon, architect, came down from London, and on examining the base of the tower, found that a settlement had taken place, and the apex of the tower, when tested, was found to be considerably out of the perpendicular. The work was placed in the hands of Mr. Clarke, builder, who has been two months at work trying to secure the tower from further depression, but several architects are of the opinion that the spire will have to be moved. It appears that a spring was left under the piers without a course being provided to carry off the water, and this has spread and destroyed the masonry. In the excavations recently made by Mr. Clarke, he has discovered, not only the foundation of an ancient British church, but has brought out six stone coffins or cists, the bodies in which were in a perfect state of preservation, and were removed from the stone coffins and interred in the cemetery. One stone coffin is perfect, and is undoubtedly the best specimen of the kind yet found in the Principality. There are others in the ground there, which will be unearthed as the work proceeds. The rebuilding of some of the piers at the western part of the cathedral Mr. Clarke considers absolutely necessary. The western end is now barricaded, and the congregation enter and leave by the north and south doors."

The first part of Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole's catalogue of the additions made to the collection of Arabic coins since the publication of the eight volumes of his *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, will probably be issued before Christmas. It contains descriptions of about 2,000 additions to the 3,000 coins catalogued in the original volumes, i.-iv., as well as a number of rare specimens, including those from the India Office Collection, now in the British Museum.

Surely our ecclesiastical and historical fabrics (which would be tenderly cherished in America) are often recklessly treated. It appears that the parish church of Millbrook—a beautiful edifice in the Perpendicular style, and one of the oldest in Bedfordshire—is in a state of wreck. A portion of the walls and the roof fell in a few days ago. The workmen were engaged in making the necessary excavations in the nave, for the purpose of introducing a new heating apparatus, when one of the massive octagon-shaped pillars separating the nave from the aisles gave way at the foundation, which simply consisted of sand. Four men were in the pit, but they observed the stones begin to move, and made a rush for the door. They

had, however, a very narrow escape, for they had only reached the porch when the pillar collapsed and fell into the hole where they had been working, bringing with it two of the arches and a large piece of the roof. A number of the old oaken pews were smashed, and the font, which was a very ancient relic, was broken into fragments; but three marble busts on pedestals close by were untouched.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society.

—August 29.—Excursion to Thorpe, for the examination of Knavey Hole, a cave situated near the summit of a hill near that village. Descent was made by means of a ladder into a chamber 30 feet long, and here were gathered from among the *débris* numerous bones, from a human jawbone to a caudal vertebra of some small beast. The *débris* has been worked before, and found to contain remains of man, horse, wild boar, red deer, three species of birds, and numerous other animals. Professor Miall, of the Yorkshire College, has kindly assisted in the identification of several specimens previously collected. The chamber above-mentioned is from 7 feet to 10 feet in width, and nearly 40 feet high. Then follows an ascent of 18 feet (accomplished by a ladder), after which comes a narrow passage to a distance of 36 feet farther. In this passage is a perpendicular hole 12 feet deep; and this the more intrepid of the party descended. Another chamber is open to the explorer who penetrates this depth. The collection of curiosities from this cave was shown to the party at the Skipton Town Hall. The Rev. T. Jones, of Embsay, gave an account of the history and finds of the cave, whilst papers by Mr. G. R. Vane on "The Classification of the Palæozoic Polyzoa," and by Mr. R. M. Binnie, on "The Mesozoic Rocks of the North-East Coast of Ireland," were laid before the society, and will be duly published in its proceedings.

Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association.

—September 12. Visit to Fountains Abbey.—Address by Mr. Micklethwait, F.R.S., on "The Cistercian Rule." There were two great periods in the history of monasticism. The first was at the breaking up of the Roman Empire, when Benedict first put in order Western monachism; and the second was when monasteries were set up all over Western Europe. These abbeys were not, like similar institutions of a later time, conducted under any fixed rule. Though generally the rule of St. Benedict was recognised, yet each abbot had full power and discretion in his own house, which was regulated and conducted on his own plan. Consequently, as time went on and the idea of monastic life slackened, the rules by which the houses were individually governed also slackened, and to such an extent that in England they found that institutions which were begun as

monasteries were, in the eleventh century, practically secular colleges, served by clergy who were often married. And so it happened that the title "minster," which in itself implied monastic life, had in our time come to be applied to churches which were generally secular. In the eleventh century a fresh impetus was given to monastic life by the beginning of the new civilization. At a time when many men were drawn to a monastic life as the only example of civilization, many new orders were founded, amongst these being the Cistercian, which, in a sense, was peculiarly English, because it was put into order by the third Abbot of Cîteaux, Stephen Harding, an Englishman. The order was introduced into England in the year 1129, and very quickly a large number of houses were founded; amongst these was Fountains Abbey. The Cistercians were in their way Puritans. Their services were of the plainest and simplest character; their buildings were bare and without elaborate ornamentation; and the fare of the members of the order was as plain as could be. No meat was allowed, and perfect silence was maintained in the house. As time went on, relaxation came to the new monastic life as to the old, and they found that the buildings which were prepared for the first rule of extreme asceticism were gradually modified to suit an easier, although still a rigorous life. By the aid of a large plan, Mr. Micklethwait went on to describe the various changes which had taken place in the buildings—both in the church and the domestic buildings—including the dividing of the infirmary and other sections into private rooms, the formation of separate houses for the abbots, and so on, concluding by tracing the system of drainage and water-supply.—Mr. St. John Hope conducted the company over the abbey, which he described in detail, advancing many new and interesting points with regard to received theories connected with various features of the buildings. In the course of his observations Mr. Hope sketched at some length the results of excavations already made under his superintendence at Fountains, and gave a brief outline of work of the same kind shortly to be resumed. Starting his explanatory tour in the church, Mr. Hope prefaced his remarks by sketching the foundation and early history of the abbey, after which, in the course of his general observations, he said it was not easy to discover the original disposition of the church. The popular notion was that when, in mediæval times, people built a church like that, they intended to have a grand view from end to end. That was an erroneous opinion. They built in that manner because it was the easiest way of building, and having got their erection, they proceeded to cut it up by screens. There was no documentary evidence to tell them how the house at Fountains was divided, but the original limits of the church were different to what they were now. He could not say whether the nave and the aisles showed their original setting out. The limits of the early choir were marked out by thin lines in the grass upon the platform near where he was standing. The Cistercians seemed to have generally completed the plan of a church before going on with the other portions of their structure. The choir originally, like most Cistercian choirs, was flanked on either side by three chapels projecting eastward from the transept. The old choir must have been very dark, because

there was just room for a narrow window on either side. There was very good and clear proof of walls dividing the church from end to end, and in some of the Cistercian abbeys they were marked even more strongly than at Fountains. The evidence as to the *conversi* stalls he was not quite sure about, but three of the pillars on either side had the plinths chopped down, and his theory was, that that had been done to fit the ranges of stalls. Another feature was that the aisles and the nave were cut by screens at intervals into a number of chapels. There was a chapel in almost every bay. The roofing of the aisles was peculiar. The ordinary way was to have a regular vaulting right along, but here an arch was thrown from the pillar to the wall, and then a pointed barrel vault from arch to arch. It was rather a weak form of building, and not at all English in feature. There were strong indications of an organ having been erected at the west end, because against the pier there were cuts for two very strong beams and other marks. Against the west end of the choir there was a solid stone screen, with a sort of music gallery on the top. Between two screens there was a space in which sick brethren used to sit on a bench. There was a great rood screen, with images of Our Lady and St. John. In the last few days he had excavated the pits underneath the upper rank of stalls, and the total number of earthenware pots found embedded in the walls had now reached the number of twenty-four. One authority advanced the theory that they were put there to augment the sound of the music; but on the south side there were no traces of pots, and it might be that the singing was better on that side than on the north. That the central tower collapsed at an early date was clear by the buttresses. The community must have first under-pinned the Norman work, and then, finding that to be of no use, had built the great buttress, which looked uglier now than when the stalls ran past it. The central tower had fallen certainly just before the suppression of the house. The great tower was one of the most imposing in the North of England. Near it was an altar to St. Michael the Archangel, with a bracket for the image of the Archangel. The Norman part of the choir was utterly gone, and even of the later work there were no remains whatever. What was commonly known as the altar platform, and was supposed to have been the high-altar, was nothing of the kind. The high-altar was a solid piece of masonry rising through the ground, and that was not it at all. Behind this platform, and underneath the perpendicular window, were the nine altars against the east wall. Each altar was divided by a solid stone wall, and subsequently the number was reduced from nine to one. The whole of these altars were screened off from one another and from the church, so as to leave a passage from end to end. Mr. Hope concluded by describing the formation and uses of the cloister, the chapter-house, the auditoria, the dormitories, the infirmary, and the cemetery, his explanations being followed with keen interest.

Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society.—September 1. Excursion to Thornhill; visit to Lees Hall.—Lees Hall is a fair specimen of the timber-built house of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and bears evidence of having been the abode of a family

of some standing in times past. The exterior is partly of wood and plaster, cased for some distance by stone, except in the front of the house, which shows the ancient timbers to the ground level. Internally there are further evidences of luxuriance, denoting the substantial condition of its former occupants. Erected during the peaceful era, when the moat and other kinds of fortification had fallen into disuse, Lees Hall formerly contained a house-place on the ground floor, where the kitchen arrangements were provided for, and where, doubtless, the domestics lived and slept. As in most houses of substantial burghers, there was also the solar or great parlour used by the master and his family, and where they lived and slept. This apartment is upon the first floor, and remains almost intact. It is approached by a curious staircase. The ceiling is of ornate design in plaster work, wrought in panels and adorned with *fleurs-de-lis* and other devices, the cornices showing lions and other animals. The ceiling is, however, of a more recent period than the original structure. The walls of this room are of oak wainscoting, and the breast of the chimney-piece is most elaborately carved. Lees Hall (which is but an abbreviation of Thornhill-lees or leys) was the ancient abode of the Nettleton family, who were connected with several good Yorkshire families by marriage, and whose insignia are very significantly introduced into the design of the oak carving on the chimney front, namely, sprays of the common nettle springing from a tun or barrel.—Assembled in this roomy apartment, a few particulars of the hall and its former owners were given by Mr. T. T. Empsall, the president of the society, who stated that he believed Lees Hall was erected by Edward Nettleton, a native of Honley, about 1570. He was a "woollener," who, like many others engaged in a similar trade at that period, gathered gear copiously, and founded a family, branches of which, with the pleasant houses they occupied, survive to the present day. Religiously, he was of Puritan tendencies, judging by the language of his will, made in 1612. Thomas Nettleton, his eldest son and heir-apparent, was then married, and "estated to the best of his means," and his other children were mostly settled. Thomas Nettleton, the son, continued to reside at Lees Hall until his decease. He married Mary, the daughter of Mrs. Bailey, of Honley, who married Nicholas Radcliffe, and he died at Lees Hall in 1645. By his will he desired to be buried in the "parson's queere" at Thornhill Church. He left two sons and six daughters, the former of whom he had already "estated and settled" before his decease, while the daughters were also provided for. The eldest son succeeded to Lees Hall, and became Rector of Thornhill, and very rich, having apparently not only inherited his father's wealth, but added to it considerably. By his will, dated 1668, he bequeathed much of his property to his wife, and the remainder to his seven daughters. By his death the Nettleton family became extinct, and along with it that of Radcliffe, a once famous family, which included the celebrated Sir George Radcliffe, allied with the Earl of Strafford during the Commonwealth, and his son Thomas, who became Privy Councillor of Ireland under Charles II. In Heywood's *Nonconformist Register* it is stated that "Mr. Richard Thorp, of Hopton, died at Lees Hall in 1715, having shortly before purchased it for £1,800."

The exterior of the ancient edifice having been photographed by Mr. George Hepworth, of Brighouse, a member of the society, the party moved forward to the church of St. Michael at Thornhill. Thornhill is an ancient rectory, in the patronage of the Thornhills for many generations, and from them of the Saviles. Dr. Whitaker says this was one of the portions of the old Saxon parish of Dewsbury, and probably the first which was severed from it. Canon Brooke, the Rector of Thornhill, was in readiness to welcome the party, and under his guidance an exhaustive inspection was made of the interesting edifice. The church occupies an elevated position on the crown of the hill overlooking the Calder Valley, and commands extensive views. The history of the church was narrated by Canon Brooke, who also described many of its architectural features. The church comprises tower, nave with side-aisles, and chancel with aisles, the north aisle having been added as a chantry by one of the Saviles about the middle of the fifteenth century, and ever since it has been the burial-place of the Savile family of Thornhill. Half of the south aisle belongs to the lord of the manor and the other half to the rector, hence the term "parson's queere" mentioned in the Nettleton will. Somewhat singularly, the original builders followed the natural inclination of the ground, which slopes gently towards the east. Hence the chancel is lower than the nave and the nave lower than the tower, which stands upon the highest level. Almost all the various styles of recognised architecture may be traced in Thornhill Church, beginning with the Runic, Saxon, Norman, Early English, the late Decorated period, and the Perpendicular. The old church appears to have undergone reconstruction in 1777, since which period, until it was handed over to Mr. Street, the nave was of debased style, or rather no style in particular. By careful arrangement the structure has been rendered harmonious, and in many respects very fine in appearance. The church is rich in old stained glass and in the collection of Savile monuments. These features were minutely described by the rector. The great chancel window was placed there in 1499 by Robert Frost, the then rector and Chancellor to Prince Arthur. In the east window of the Savile Chantry is an inscription showing it to have been enlarged in 1493 by William Savile. Throughout the colours are exquisite, and the conception is wonderfully instructive. The monuments are equally fine, especially those of the Thornhills and Saviles. Several are of alabaster or marble, but one is of oak, and, according to Canon Brooke, is almost unique, there being only three others of its type known to exist. It is said to have been erected in the time of Henry VIII., and is in wonderful preservation. It bears the effigies of Sir John Savile and his two wives, and the following curious inscription:

Bonyz emonge stonyz lys ful steyl
Qwylyst the sawle wanderis were that God wyl.

In the "Richardson Correspondence" a copy of this inscription is given, having been sent by Dr. Richardson, of Bierley Hall, to his correspondent Hearne, the antiquary, who printed it in his *Notæ et Specilegium*. In the chancel floor are several elaborately worked tombstones, one of them in memory of the Rev. Joshua Wotton, who was "put out" of the

living by the Act of Uniformity. He was born at Sowerby, and during the Civil Wars was chaplain to Lord Ferdinando Fairfax. He was a man blessed with a bountiful estate, was an able preacher, a great friend to poor clergymen, and had much influence in the neighbourhood. Calamy stated that when he heard of the Act of Uniformity, Witton and two other ministers rode to York "with their bags full of distinctions," hoping to keep their places; but, having read the Act, they returned with a resolution to quit all rather than conform to it. Mr. Witton retired to York, where he died in 1674.—Several ancient runic crosses shown to the visitors by Canon Brooke were most interesting, inasmuch as they establish the fact that a church or chapel must have existed at Thornhill probably 1,000 years ago or more. Several of these precious relics were discovered during the restoration of the church, another was found by Canon Brooke some time afterwards in a curious manner. While arranging the relics in a safe place in the vestry, the sexton remarked to the rector that a similarly marked stone was built into the wall in the belfry, and which he had tried to decipher many a time, but could not. Proceeding at once to the tower, with lantern and taper, sure enough the stone was there, its basket-work ornamentation standing out clear and distinct in the flickering light. The massive stone had been built into the tower as a corner-stone some time between the years 1450 and 1600. After a day's labour it was displaced, and by far the finest fragment of a runic cross found at Thornhill was removed to its present locality in the vestry. The runes are so distinct that little difficulty was experienced in arriving at a literal rendering, as follows:

† Igilsuith reared
After Berhtsui the
Beacon at Barrow
Pray for the soul.

As explained by Canon Brooke, this inscription contains the earliest reference to the word "rear" at present known. The stone and inscription have since formed the subject of an interesting paper by Professor Stephens, of Copenhagen, contributed to the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*. The party also visited the site of the ancient abode of the Saviles, situate in the rectory grounds, where an interesting paper on the subject was read by Mr. Frank Peel, of Heckmondwike. Very little remains of the residence, which was situate on an enclosure of about half an acre of ground, surrounded by a moat, which still contains water. During the Civil Wars the building was besieged by Colonel Charles Fairfax, in charge of the Parliamentarian forces, the Royalist commander being Captain Paulden. The result of the combat was its almost complete destruction, but whether by the cannon of the besiegers, or fire from within, has never been clearly ascertained. Sir John Savile, just created a peer, is the Lord of the Manor of Thornhill.

British Archaeological Association.—August 27 to September 4.—Meeting at Glasgow.—President, the Marquis of Bute.—The proceedings opened with a reception by the Lord Provost, Sir James King, Bart., in the Council Chambers, where the leading archaeologists and representatives of the city assembled to hear the address of welcome, which was replied to

by Mr. Thomas Morgan, F.S.A., Treasurer of the Association. The party then proceeded to Langside, in the suburbs. Here, on May 13, 1568, was fought the celebrated, and in many respects memorable, battle which decided the fortunes of Mary Queen of Scots. Proceeding to the flagstaff mound now in the Queen's Park, the party assembled around Mr. A. M. Scott, who narrated the story of the battle from the time of the escape of the unfortunate Queen from Lochleven Castle on May 2 to the day of the defeat on the ground before them. The mound commands an extended panorama of Glasgow in the distance, and of many a mile of adjacent country. From this standpoint Mr. Scott pointed out the course of the Queen's route from Hamilton along the road to Paisley on the south side of the river, and where her army halted on finding the passage of the road disputed by the forces of the Regent Murray. Various other spots where incidents of the encounter took place were also in sight, including the position of the Queen and her immediate guard. The battle was decided in the short space of three-quarters of an hour. Queen's Park contains a goodly portion of the site of the battle within its ample area. It contains also a curious prehistoric earthwork on Camp Hill, which was also inspected by the party. It is of circular form, the enclosure being an earthen rampart of moderate height, the spot commanding a prospect of considerable extent and great beauty. Some burnt wheat was found here in an excavation made to a depth of 10 or 12 feet, but no other objects appear to have been found. Mr. Scott pointed out that the camp was one of several in the locality, and their use afterwards by the Romans was more than probable in relation to the termination of the Antonine Wall not far off on the opposite bank of the Clyde, close to Dumbarton.—The party then proceeded to the village of Langside, in the vicinity, to witness a ceremony which will always be remembered in relation to the present Congress. This was for its members to take part in the formal handing over to its custodians of the Memorial of the battle, which is now completed. The monument consists of a tall circular column, covered with the Scottish thistle arranged in spiral form as a diaper around the shaft. The capital is foliated, and above it is a boldly-carved Scottish lion. The base is a solid square, arranged in masonry blocks having well-designed eagles at the four extremities. The work, which is in the Grecian style, very freely treated, is artistic and good.—Returning to the city, the members assembled in the choir of the cathedral. Here Mr. J. Honeyman, president to the Glasgow Archaeological Society, read a paper on the history and architecture of the edifice. In the course of an elaborate essay he showed that although the spot where St. Kentigern (or Mungo, as he is also called) worshipped and was buried was still known and venerated, there is not a fragment of any building *in situ* of older date than about 1180; this—a small piece of carved work—is at the south-west corner of the present crypt; and of the twelfth-century church, of which this is the only relic, nothing more is known. The bases and other details of the architecture of the existing church indicate in the main a thirteenth-century work, the crypt and choir of which owe their origin to a period not before 1240, the nave being

finished about forty or fifty years later. In addition to this, another period of the church shows work of 1425-1435 in the chapter house and of 1480 in other parts. The later Scotch style shown in the work of the crypt, which was carried out by Bishop Blackadder in the sixteenth century, is as unlike English work of the same period as can be imagined; at first sight, indeed, it looks like that called Early English. The spire is the most modern portion. Mr. Honeyman classified the parts as follows: 1. Portion of a building, *circa* 1170-1190; 2. Part of a nave, 1200-1220; 3. Crypt and choir, 1240-1280; 4. Upper part of nave, 1270-1300; 5. Chapter-house, *circa* 1425; 6. Bishop Lauder's tower, 1425; 7. South crypt, 1500; 8. Spire, considerably later. The reader then described the details of the plans and mouldings; and the party passed through the crypt, chapter-house or sacristy, and triforium, and inspected the three monuments of early date which the cathedral possesses, two large stone coffins, one of which bears a very elegantly designed floreated cross on the lid, of the early part of the thirteenth century, and the sole remaining effigy of Bishop Wishart, of later date. Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., hon. secretary, followed Mr. Honeyman, and drew attention to the serious cracks visible in the spandrels of the tower arches, which he finds running up through the modern facing to the roof, indicating the dangerous condition of the spire. Mr. Brock rejected the application of the popular term Lady chapel by the previous speaker to what is really a retro-choir, and hardly capable of use as a Lady chapel on account of structural peculiarities. Mr. Honeyman accepted this distinction of terms.

August 28.—Excursions to Bothwell and Craignethan Castles.—The remains of Bothwell Castle stand in a fine position on high ground above the Clyde, which winds along at their base, the steep banks being covered with foliage and underwood. On assembling in the courtyard, Mr. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A. Scot., one of the hon. local secretaries, read a paper. The founder, he said, was probably one of the family of Oliphant, one of whom, who was Justiciar of Lothian, died in 1242, when the barony passed to the family of Moray by marriage, and it belonged to Sir W. Moray, who died in 1300 while a prisoner in England. It was held for a time for the English, and at the extreme end of the thirteenth century it submitted to the Scotch after being besieged for thirteen months, the surrender being only occasioned by want of provisions. Edward I. in 1301 invested the Castle with an overwhelming force, and it had to surrender, after which it was held for the English, alternately by Aylmer de Valence and by Walter de Fitz-Gilbert. After the total defeat of the English on the field of Bannockburn, the walls afforded a refuge to the Earl of Hereford and a small detachment, but the Castle surrendered soon afterwards to Sir Edward Bruce. Once again, after the Battle of Halidon Hill in 1333, the English became the possessors, and Edward III. stayed here for about four weeks in 1335. The Earl of Moray retook the Castle in 1337, when it was dismantled, since which time it has remained in Scottish hands. The Earl of Douglas (Sir Archibald the Grim) married Johanna of Moray in 1362, since which time the property has passed by

descent to the present owner. Mr. Loftus Brock described the architectural features of the castle, which he said was one of the oldest and one of the most important in Scotland. The masonry is remarkably well cut and evenly jointed, showing that, although there are but few earlier fabrics, yet at the period of its erection the craftsmen were well skilled, as if by practice elsewhere. All the towers project beyond the line of the curtain walls, thereby affording greater surface for attack, while the walls have the benefit of support, in a military sense, from the towers. The plan of the Castle, as it stood until a few weeks ago, consisted of a parallelogram, whose axis was east and west, the west end being occupied by an enormous tower, circular outside, octagonal within, the western portions having been long since demolished, and the breach built up across the portion of the circular face thus cut off. The north wall is obviously more modern than the older portions, which are of a date early in the thirteenth century, the donjon tower singularly resembling that of Pembroke Castle in outward appearance. There has been a beautiful chapel with a groined roof at the eastern extremity of the courtyard, and near to it a capacious banqueting hall, both being on the first-floor level, the later portions of the building being most probably the work of Douglas the Grim. Within the last few weeks considerable light has been thrown upon the early form of the Castle by extensive excavations made by order of the Earl of Home. The effect of these has been to show that the building formerly was of double its present extent, and that it was of pentagonal form, the sides being irregular in length. The position of the original entrance has been found, together with portions of a paved causeway leading up to it. This entrance was by a narrow passage flanked by two circular towers. Traces of a sallyport have also been uncovered, and beside one of the walls the skeleton of a man of great height was found buried, the feet being to the east and the head to the west. The walls laid bare by the excavations are of beautiful masonry, regularly coursed and very truly cut, as perfect, as far as they remain, as when erected in the thirteenth century. Mr. W. J. Easton led the party around the excavations and described them. Many stone balls have been found, and the evidences of the destructive forces at work were but too apparent in the ruined condition of the massive walls laid bare, although their state shows that all the fallen upper part has been removed by hand.—The party next proceeded to the parish church, where Mr. Brock described the features of the remarkable stone-vaulted chancel, which, with its small vestry of similar workmanship, appears to have formed the whole of the Collegiate Church founded by the Grim Earl about 1398. The vault is pointed and continuous, with ribs of stone laid on, roofed outside with curved ridge and furrow, also of stone. There is much of what has been called French influence in the ornamentation, the arches of the doorways being either Burgundian in form, or semicircular. The existence of a sculptured slab within the church points to an earlier fabric on the spot.—After luncheon the party proceeded to the station called Tillietudlem, after the name invented by Sir Walter Scott, under which he has so graphically described the Castle of Craignethan, close at hand. Coal-pits and other signs of the altering features of the

landscape are visible from the station; but there is nothing whatever visible of the Castle, although it occupies a lofty position at the edge of a steep bank far above the level of the Water of Nethan. The Castle consists of a square donjon keep, of a form common in Scotland, although its internal arrangements have the peculiarity of a divisional wall. It is of late date. There are imitation corbellings around the summit, for ornament and not for defence, and there is a small corbelled bartizan at each angle. Attached to the keep is a still later erection, consisting of a walled courtyard with square towers at the angles, and an entrance, the walls being pierced with openings for musketry or small cannon at a low level. A still later house, partially inhabited, built on the walls, is dated 1665. The scene is one of remarkable beauty, the foliage being tangled and of most varied form, while the rocky banks of the streamlet help to impart a charm to the lovely spot.—The party returned to Glasgow, and in the evening the president delivered his inaugural address. Founding his classification of the whole cycle of Scottish antiquities for the most part upon those examples which the party had seen or were about to see, the president pointed out that just as tastes of archaeologists, as of other persons, differ, so the somewhat fragmentary and heterogeneous nature of the excursions which had been proposed upon the occasion of the first visit of the Association to Scotland might, perhaps, after all leave a more truthful impression on the mind by giving some idea of the vastness and the variety of the remains than would have been the case had a more strictly scientific selection left the impression that there were no monuments save those characteristic of one district, one epoch, or one class. The archaeology of Scotland appears to fall into three periods: the early, the mediæval, and the modern. The first, or early period, ends with the death of Macbeth, 1037; the second, or mediæval, lasted until the hapless defeat of Mary at Langside, 1568; and the modern from that time to the present day. In the course of this address the important antiquities of the kingdom were touched upon in order as they fall into the divisions of his lordship's classification. With regard to the great Dominican Church at Stirling, in which both James VI. and Mary had been crowned, the slow process of restoration was referred to, and a criticism upon the probable future manipulation of the interior added. He implored the authorities of Stirling to be careful how they tampered with the wall across their chancel. As for the vulgar delusion that all the ruined state of ecclesiastical buildings is to be ascribed to the Reformation, that was not so, but the sins of other people were often credited to the Reformers. The middle period is most fruitful in antiquities; in it stand forth the names of Wallace and Bruce. To this period belongs the development of the social systems, the burghs, the universities, and so forth. He hoped a brighter day was dawning for historical and artistic Scotland, and a new spirit of culture arising. As a help in this direction he hailed the meeting in Scotland of such bodies as the British Archaeological Association, and he ventured to hope that this would not be the last visit, for Scotland possesses district after district not less interesting in themselves—except as regards parish churches—than the provincial districts of England.

August 29.—Visit to Torwoodhead Castle, a ruined Scottish mansion of late date. After a short inspection under the guidance of Mr. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A., Scot., the party proceeded through the adjacent woods to the elevated ground on which stands a monument of antiquity of the greatest possible interest to the visitors, since it is the only example of a class of monuments peculiar to Scotland included in the present year's programme. We refer to the prehistoric Broch at Tapock. It stands on the highest point of the hill, commanding a magnificent panorama of the adjacent country, over the field of Bannockburn, and far away to the left of Stirling. Here Mr. Dalrymple Duncan read a paper on the historical and architectural aspects of Scottish brochs, pointing out that they constitute a type of antiquities absolutely peculiar to Scotland. The broch is, in its generic character, a hollow circular tower of dry masonry from 40 feet to 70 feet diameter, having in the thickness of the walls a series of chambers and passages lighted by windows looking into the central area, the only outside aperture being a doorway with slightly inclined sides and square headed. The wall varies from 9 feet to 20 feet thick. They are found mostly to the north of the Caledonian Valley, and, according to Dr. Joseph Anderson's list, number about 370 examples (*viz.*, in Caithness, 79; Shetland, 75; Orkney, 70; Sutherland, 60; Ross-shire, 38; Inverness-shire, 47). The Celtic rears of these remarkable structures belong, it is believed, to the prehistoric iron age. Colonel Joseph Dundas excavated Tapock in 1864, and his account formed the basis of Mr. Duncan's notice.—Descending through the tangled bracken and fern of the forest, the carriages were resumed, and a visit was paid to the site of the Battle of Bannockburn, the party alighting at the Bore Stone, now carefully covered over with iron gratings to preserve it from injury. It was here that the standard of Robert Bruce was erected on the ever-memorable 24th of June, 1314. The grand view, extending to the Links of Forth, Stirling Castle, high on its craggy site, backed up by the hills beyond it, was seen to great advantage in the sunlight which had succeeded the storm. The boggy ground around the little stream, the Bannock, which proved to be so fatal to the English, is now drained and turned to agricultural uses; while the village of Bannockburn and the adjacent one of St. Ninians, occupied by Prince Charles Edward in 1746, have grown almost one to another, and the modern houses extend nearly on to Stirling. Newhouse, where the Earl of Lennox, Regent of Scotland, was killed in 1571, is another village which has also undergone great increase in recent years.—On arrival at Stirling, Mr. W. B. Cook read a paper on the town and the Castle. Under his guidance the principal of the many old edifices of the town were examined, the Church of the Greyfriars being the first at which a halt was made. This church is still divided into two compartments, known as the East and West Churches, used by different congregations, the intended renovation of the fabric and the removal of the modern divisions being (unfortunately), for the time, abandoned. Stirling Church offers many objects for study, and it is essentially Scottish in all its features. It has a semi-octagonal apse; the windows are tall, and filled in with tracings that would, so far as their design goes, be considered of fourteenth-century date were they met with across the Border; here

they are of fifteenth-century date. The apse is roofed externally with stone slabs, being first brought to a square above the parapets. The aisles are lofty, as is the whole of the choir, while the nave is of much less elevation. In the latter, solid Norman-like circular piers support pointed arches and a low clerestory, the aisles having traceried windows of large size. Their date corresponds with that of the circular piers, and is of the fifteenth century. The western tower is very characteristic of Scotland, and it is of late date, erected in stages, with some curious lines of continuous corbelling. Mar's Work, a ruin to the east of the church, erected out of fragments of Cambuskenneth Abbey, is a curious adaptation of some of the ornamental stonework of the church, worked into the walls in odd fashion. Argyle's Lodging is a very fine mansion of the seventeenth century, built by Sir Wm. Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, but now used as a barrack. The time at the disposal of the party was not at all sufficient to do justice to the many buildings of interest which form Stirling Castle, and nothing more was done than for their principal features to be pointed out. The fine old Hall, the Parliament House, is now sadly disfigured by modern barbarisms, as is also the Chapel Royal, a late building, erected by James VI. in 1594, instead of a much more ancient fabric. It deserves a better fate than to have been turned, first into an armoury, and now, in fact, into a receptacle for stores. The Palace itself is sadly neglected and uncared for; many vulgar insertions have been made, the carved cornices cut through for windows, and no signs of care are visible from one end to another of this remarkable fabric. The grand view from the battlements was seen to great advantage. Ever and anon a blaze of sunlight, followed by flickering shadow, would chase one another over the lofty crags far off beyond the town, or a bright rainbow would appear through the dark clouds in the distance. The Tower of Cambuskenneth Abbey was seen in the meadows at the foot of Stirling Hill, but it was impossible to visit it.—The evening meeting was divided, to the disappointment of some who had wished to hear all the lectures, into two sections to enable four important papers to be read. Archbishop Eyre read a paper "On the See of Glasgow" from the time of St. Ninian. He was followed by Mr. Allan Wyon, chief engraver of her Majesty's seals, "On the Great Seals of Scotland." Mr. Wyon, whose recent work on the *Great Seals of England* will be remembered, exhibited, in illustration of his paper, a collection of casts of Scottish royal seals, which he had gathered up with much assiduity from the British Museum, Oxford, Durham, and elsewhere. If Mr. Wyon can see his way to the production of a sister volume of Scottish seals in continuation of his last work he will confer a distinct gain on archaeology.—In the second room Professor Veitch gave a paper "On Merlin and the Merlinian Poems," in which he demonstrated the existence of three Merlins; the Merlin of Malory and Lord Tennyson being, it is almost needless to say, an inferior and entirely different personage from the Merlin with whose name the poems are associated. To him succeeded Dr. J. Collingwood Bruce "On the Wall of Antoninus." This differs from that of Hadrian in being a rampart of earth and not of stone. The meeting, which heartily appreciated these papers, broke up at a very advanced hour.

August 30.—A party of nearly two hundred members went on board the *Columba* at Broomielaw and Greenock for Rothesay, where they examined the castle, under the guidance of the Rev. J. K. Hewison, who pointed out that the interior is the oldest part, and detailed the history of the successive families by whom it was held.—Mr. Brock described the architectural features, and fixed the date of the masonry of the inner face of the wall of the court at about the middle of the twelfth century. A portion of one of the piles of oak of which the original drawbridge was constructed was exhibited to show the traces of the fire by which they had been burnt down to the edge of the water in the moat.—The church was then examined. This stands on the site of the original cathedral of the isle. A chapel here is thought to be a portion of the old church; and part of a sculptured cross in the churchyard, covered with animal figures and other emblems, belongs to the oldest period of its history.—After a hearty reception at Mount Stewart by the president, the drive was resumed to the ancient chapel of St. Blane, passing by the standing stones of Lubas *en route*. Mr. Hewison also described the features of interest at St. Blane's. Here tradition points to a tomb near the wall as being that of the saint, but the bones which still repose in the tomb have been declared to be those of a young woman. As early as the seventh century a complete monastic establishment existed here. Around the chapel there stand several finely-sculptured Celtic stones which have been figured in works on that class of archaeology. The adjacent vitrified fort of Dunagoil was set down on the programme for visitation, but only a very small number of the party reached the site, and the promised description on the spot was deferred to a future occasion and for a larger audience. Owing to the length of the excursion, there was no evening meeting, and the journey home was made by special steamer from Kilchattan Bay to Wemyss Bay and thence by train to Glasgow, which was not reached till a late hour.

August 31.—Visit to the ancient abbey of Paisley. Mr. Brock described the architectural features of this Cluniac establishment, which was founded by Walter Fitzalan in 1163, and much of the masonry is about that period; the latter additions were gradually carried out until the middle of the fifteenth century. Mr. Ewan Christian pointed out the marks of fire on the east end of the choir walls. St. Mirran's Chapel was also inspected and described; and several persons explored the subterranean passage, with walls made of worked stone, pointed roof, and ribs of stone at intervals of two feet, which leads from the abbey towards the river.—In the afternoon the party was received by the Local Reception Committee in the Royal Bungalow in the Exhibition grounds, and the antiquarian treasures in the Hunterian Museum were pointed out by Professor Young and Professor Ferguson.—Later in the day the Lord Provost received the party on the steps of the "Bishop's Castle," and the collection of antiquities, relics of Queen Mary, and other Scottish historical objects, proved a great source of attraction. The portraits of the Queen of Scots, original historical papers, weapons, and specimens of ancient Scottish art were particularly admired and discussed.—In the evening three papers were read. The first was by Mr. Morgan, entitled "Notes on

Scottish History." This was preceded by some remarks by the president on the crypt of the cathedral, and on the advisability of considering the present position of the pulpit, which his lordship suggested would be better in the nave than in the chancel of the edifice, whenever the projected rearrangement of the interior is carried out. The second paper, by Professor Hayter Lewis, discussed the "Masons' Marks of Scotland as compared with English and Foreign Examples." Professor Hayter Lewis said that Scotland possessed a larger number of such marks than could be shown down South. They were found cut on the stonework of nearly every mediæval building of importance, and on very many buildings of greater antiquity. Such marks were now used as much as they ever were, but they were hidden. Proceeding, he said that the first point was to ascertain whether they were hereditary, descending from father to son, with such slight alterations as might serve to distinguish them from each other. Certainly, in many cases it was not so. On the other hand, there were cases in which the same marks were used at the present day by members of distinctly the same family, there being some slight differences for the sake of identification. The next point was—was there any distinct mark which would serve to distinguish the members of any particular lodge or company? and he might say shortly that he could see no sign which would thus define a separate group of workmen—such a sign, for example, as that of the crown above the hammer, so well known on Scottish tombstones. Yet there were certain cases in which one would expect to find them if, as was generally supposed, the companies were under clerical guidance. The only method left by which one could trace the work and the progress of any particular lodge or fraternity from one building to another, or from one date to another, so as to ascertain the progress of an art by the consecutive history of two or more buildings, was by taking a group of separate but well-ascertained marks in one of them and tracing out the same marks, if possible, in another. All evidence seemed to point to there having been bands of skilled workmen attached to great monasteries, cathedrals, and, in later times, large cities, whose example and training influenced the districts around. When works of great magnitude were in hand, these bands were, no doubt, increased; and when the works ceased, they were lessened in number, the members dispersing here and there, and leaving their marks in various places, much as masons now did at the finish of some great work. But he found no distinct trace of the general employment of large migratory bands of masons going from place to place as a guild or brotherhood. As to whether they could find any distinct change between the marks of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the great change took place in the tooling and the style generally, he felt bound to say that he could not see any distinct or general sign of change. Generally it was found that the same forms which were used in early times were continued in the later, though they were then made more ornate. Putting together the information which they had, they found that certain definite methods of marking the general surface of the stones characterized the masonry of the style which was called Norman; that in the thir-

teenth century there was introduced with the Early Pointed style an entirely different method of finishing the surface, and that the source of this method was apparent from the East; that masons' marks did not appear to have been commonly used in Europe until late in the twelfth century, and that some of the most prominent of those marks appeared to have been used continuously from very early times in Eastern countries.—The proceedings of the evening were brought to a close by a paper from Dr. Phené, F.S.A., on "Further Discoveries of Mounds in the Forms of Animals." Taking up the subject from a former paper descriptive of such mounds in North America, the lecturer passed in review a large number of similar formations in the shape of a serpent, the head being conspicuously marked, and there being certain furrows on the back containing charcoal, burnt bones, and other marks of the presence of man.

September 1.—The first visit was to the extensive Roman camp at Ardoch. This is said to be one of the best preserved remains of the Roman occupation of Britain, and is conjectured to have been the site of an early native camp, afterwards taken possession of by the Romans, and adapted by them to their military requirements. Here Professor Young undertook the leadership of the visitors, and in the course of his remarks referred to the existence of many so-called Roman works throughout the district, which, upon strict investigation, proved to be nothing but natural formations of sand and gravel. He rejected the statement which had been often made that 25,000 men could be accommodated within the enclosures. There was a general desire on the part of the members that some excavations should be carried out in promising spots and the results communicated hereafter to the association.—The party were then conveyed to Doune Castle, on the Teith, and Mr. J. Dalrymple Duncan read a concise paper in the courtyard. As is the case with other castles visited during the Congress, the exact period of its erection cannot be very accurately ascertained. Tradition, however, ascribes it to the eleventh century, and, without proof, assigns it as the principal seat of the old Earls of Menteith. Not much is known of the Menteith Stewarts, but the founder of the race was Walter, a younger brother of Alexander, fourth High Steward, who, marrying a daughter of Maurice, Earl of Menteith, succeeded to the earldom in right of his wife. After tracing the descent of the family and the fortunes of the holders of the castle, a description was given by Mr. Duncan of the buildings, which are now the subject of a very careful preservative treatment by the owner, the Earl of Moray.—The next halt was at Dunblane Cathedral, where the fine architectural details and the ecclesiastical history of the See formed the groundwork of a paper by the Rev. A. Ritchie. The cathedral stands, according to Professor Story, on the site of a Culdee settlement, and thus forms an interesting link between the earliest form of religion in Scotland and that which obtains in the present day. Professor Story alluded to a projected restoration about to be carried out by Dr. Anderson, but the details of this proceeding were not defined. Dr. Anderson admitted that the proposal to restore the cathedral has met with a great deal of opposition from various quarters, but it will be under the care of the "Board of Manufacturers," a body

having the care of all national works of art in Scotland. Dr. Anderson then took the party round the edifice, and pointed out the peculiarities of the construction and the evidences of the oldest works. The square tower of Norman style was especially admired. There was no intention of holding any evening meeting on this day on account of the lateness of the return and the length of the programme.

September 3.—The proceedings began with a walk from Bonnybridge Station, near Falkirk, to the Elf Hill, where a paper was read by Dr. Russell on the importance of the site in ancient days as a watch-tower or fort. Progress on foot through the wood of Ach-nabuth was then made along, or beside, the Roman wall, which was formed about A.D. 140 by Lollius Urbicus, to Rough Castle, one of the most important forts on the line of this wall, which stretched across the island from sea to sea. As far as is known, no Roman antiquities have been found on Elf Hill or on the wall to Rough Castle, but an altar of freestone was discovered in a field to the south of the castle in 1843, bearing an inscription of its dedication to victory by the sixth cohort of the Nervian auxiliaries. An imperfect quern or millstone, made of a stone not found in the district, was here exhibited to the party, some of them also inspected a clearing showing the stone facings on either side of the wall, about fifteen feet thick, and a conduit or drain running throughout the width. Falkirk Church, the next halting-place, only detained the party a very short time. Haste was then made to Linlithgow Palace—a most interesting building with its numerous historical associations—and St. Michael's Church.—At the evening meeting the following papers were read, the chair being occupied by Mr. Thomas Blashill, Superintending Architect to the Metropolitan Board of Works: 1. "Notes on a Diary by one of the suite of the Duke of York, afterwards James II., under date of 1679, on the journey from London to Scotland," by Mr. Geo. R. Wright, F.S.A. This paper was interesting in showing that a journey which can now be accomplished in nine hours then took royalty, with all the facilities of the time at command, as many days. 2. "The Classification and Geographical Distribution of early Christian inscribed Stones in Scotland," by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. Scot. In the author's absence his paper was read by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., one of the honorary secretaries. 3. "The Characteristics of Ancient Scottish Architecture," by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A.

September 4.—The last day of the congress was devoted to a visit to the Benedictine Abbey of Dunfermline, which was likened by some of the party to "a little Durham," and the programme included inspection of Malcolm Canmore's Tower, Queen Margaret's Cave, the palace, and the grave of Robert the Bruce in the parish church.—The closing meeting in the Corporation Galleries, which were kindly placed at the disposition of the congress, included papers by Professor Ferguson, LL.D., on the "Literature of Witchcraft in Scotland," and on a "Book of Medical and Magical Receipts of the Seventeenth Century," and by Mr. W. G. Black, on the "Derivation of the name 'Glasgow.'" Mr. W. de G. Birch contributed a paper on "The Materials for the Scoti-Monasticon," in which he sketched out the sources of the whole bibliography, both of printed

books and manuscripts, which must be taken into account by those who essay the task of preparing a general Scottish monastic history on the lines of the new "Monasticon Anglicanum." Mr. Birch exhibited a few photographs of early Scottish monastic charters from the British Museum collections, and pointed out the occurrence of the name "Glesgv," in one of the beginning of the twelfth century, as being probably the first appearance of this name of the city in original records. This closing meeting was appropriately presided over by Lord Bute.—In the evening, at a conversation given by the Lord Provost and the magistrates, the members met the Library Association, and Mr. Wyon's unique collection of great seals of Scotland attracted considerable attention.



Correspondence.

DISCOVERY OF REMAINS OF AN ANCIENT CHURCH AT GARSTON.

The church at Garston, Lancashire, was a plain but very substantial structure of red sandstone, rebuilt in 1715 by Edward Norris, of Speke Hall, a very fine timber house standing about three miles to the south of Garston. This church, of 1715, which was a plain parallelogram, and of small size, has recently been taken down, and its materials used to construct a wall to the new churchyard. Below the foundations were found numerous stones belonging to an earlier and much larger building. These consisted of many pieces of octagonal columns and responds; capitals of pillars of two patterns, evidently from nave and chancel arcades; fragments of chancel archpiers, very richly and elaborately panelled, with late Perpendicular tracery, beautifully wrought in white freestone; many pieces of moulded copings, and of a crenulated parapet; window-mullions, and tracery, some being evidently belfry windows from a tower; gargoyles and voussoirs of arches, and other work. All these indicate a building of some importance, the details being all large and bold. The date of nearly all these fragments appears to be late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. From the number of capitals found, the church cannot have had less than three bays in the nave, and two in the chancel. Some of the richer work of fine stone may not improbably have formed part of a private chapel attached to the church, and judging from its style, it would correspond with the date of the Norris who fought at Flodden, and afterwards took part in the English invasion of Scotland, whence he brought from Holyrood House a magnificent piece of Renaissance panelling, which he set up in his hall at Speke, where it still exists.

It is much to be regretted that the greater part of these interesting remains were cut up to build the churchyard wall, in spite of many protests made against such vandalism. The indifference to antiquarian pursuits which is characteristic of Liverpool and its neighbourhood is more to blame for this than the contractor into whose hands these relics fell; he would willingly have carried out any plan put forward for their preservation. The few more interesting ones

that have been kept would, but for my own intervention, have been destroyed like the rest.

E. W. Cox.

* * We understand that almost sufficient evidence exists to restore the ancient church from the stones found. Our correspondent has made careful measurements and sections of all the stones found.—Ed.

THE LATIN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY PUBLISHED AT HEREFORD, 1517.

[*Ante*, p. 25.]

My attention has been directed to a paragraph in your "Notes on Early British Typography" concerning a book formerly belonging to me. It is a Latin-English Dictionary entitled "[H]ortus Vocabulorum," 1517, and your correspondent describes it as an "alleged Hereford impression." I beg that your correspondent will have the goodness to say by whom has it been so "alleged." He has never even seen the book, but concludes with his judicial verdict, "It seems to be the Rouen book with Hereford in the colophon." Perhaps he will tell us what book he means by "the Rouen book," his intimate acquaintance with which he appears to be not unwilling that we shall take for granted.

The book has always been "alleged" to be exactly what it actually is, and what is plain upon the face of it, printed by a printer at Rouen, at the cost of John Gachet, a dealer in books dwelling—"commorans"—at Hereford. So it is set forth on the title-page, so it was set forth by me when, 28 years ago, I first made the public acquainted with it. Most of your readers, no doubt, know that this course of that trade was not unusual in that age. Would your correspondent mis-call a Salisbury or York or Hereford Missal or Breviary a "Rouen" or a "Paris book," because, as was in most cases, it had been in like manner printed in either of those foreign cities?

This book, no longer mine, is a Latin Dictionary with the explanations of all the words in *English*. Is this a "Rouen book"? No more so than the Hereford Missal, which was also printed at Rouen in 1502, should be so called. Your correspondent is again wrong in "alleging" "with Hereford in the colophon." The colophon has nothing about Hereford, but the final page at the back of the colophon is occupied by a large woodcut of St. George, similar to one sometimes used in the same page by English printers—Peter Treveris, of Southwark, for example. It is the title-page which reads "Johannis Gachet Herfordensis commoranti."

No doubt this and some other elementary books were intended to make the choir-boys of our cathedrals able to understand the services which they sung, and this may account for their coming through the same course of trade. When I first brought the book into notice, I had convinced myself that it was totally unknown and nondescript, and my long knowledge of it has confirmed my conviction that it is perfectly unique. But so are some other books. This, however, presents a special and notable riddle which has never been solved. Ames (p. 1,437) records the York Missal, as printed at the expense of John Gachet, "mercatoris librarii," on February 5, 1516; he then "commorans" near the Cathedral at York; also as still living there, and having a York Breviary printed

at Paris at his expense in 1526. How, then, is it to be accounted for that, at the intermediate date of 1517, when he published this Latin-English Dictionary, he was then "commorans" at so far distant a place as Hereford? It will be remembered, also, that both York and Hereford were centres of ritual usages. I believe that this and other books for understanding the service-books, which came to me with it, must have originally belonged to Kimmor Abbey, Merionethshire.

THOMAS KERSLAKE.

Wynfrid, Clevedon.

* * We have called Mr. Carew Hazlitt's attention to the above letter, and he informs us that Mr. Kerslake misapprehends the purport of the words "alleged Hereford impression." He did not for a moment impute any such allegation to Mr. Kerslake, but intended to signify the apparent desire of this contemporary Hereford bookseller to make the *Ortus*, not [*H*]ortus, vocabulorum (as Mr. Kerslake puts it), pass for a volume of local execution. Mr. Hazlitt adds: "There is a great deal to be said by us all, even at this time of day, about these foreign librarii, who settled in England, or established agencies not only in the provinces, but in London. I do not think that Gachet himself lived at Hereford at all. But my chief wish was to try and dismiss from your correspondent's mind the notion that the obnoxious word "alleged" referred to him, or that I had the slightest animus in the matter."—Ed.

THE EVIDENCES OF ROMAN WORK IN CHESTER WALLS.

[*Ante*, xvii. 41, 94, 126, 137, 242; xviii. 86, 182.]

Mr. Roach Smith, in his reply to my letter on the masonry of Chester walls, admits all that can be desired of my argument, which went to show that in the existing walls no construction unequivocally and distinctively Roman has been found. Much masonry that might by some possibility be Roman could equally belong to any other age. The foundations of the south wall found near St. Michael's Church are distinctly Roman, but no similar work exists in the present walls, which do not now run on this foundation. I cannot quarrel with Mr. Roach Smith, or Sir James Picton, or Mr. Loftus Brock, because they deem the presence of fragments of other Roman buildings and tombs built into the wall evidence enough to claim the structure of the walls to be also Roman. I have not formed my view of the insufficiency of the evidence upon the opinions of others, but upon very careful and minute examination of every part of the walls. In this, I think, I may claim some advantage. Sir James Picton's very able pamphlet contains numerous inaccuracies as to facts, as well as fallacious conclusions. He has, in a great measure, been obliged to take his data at second-hand, and not always from exact and unprejudiced sources. Some of the most instructive excavations were seen by very few, and were reclosed very soon. Mr. Roach Smith is mistaken in supposing that I adopt the late Mr. Thompson Watkins' views. As regards the figures, I will endeavour to have the object carried by one of them, and called an animal, photographed as nearly as possible the natural size, and circulate the photograph. I have in my possession a considerable

number of ancient objects found in the walls and excavations, which hereafter may throw some light on this subject; they were not purchased from itinerant vendors, but properly verified and their positions recorded. For the present, I think every candid thinker must admit that the question of origin of the existing walls has yet to be solved, and that opinion, to be sound, must be supported by material and visible evidence of a much greater certainty than has yet been put forward.

ED. W. COX.



Reviews.

A History of Walsall and its Neighbourhood. By F. W. WILLMORE. (Walsall and London: Simpkin and Marshall.)

All local histories are welcome to the antiquarian student, and when, as in this case, they are carefully compiled from original documents and from local knowledge, they are valuable. Mr. Willmore brings out many points in the history of this thriving town which throw some considerable light on the origin of municipal institutions, and we are struck with the contention in the reign of Henry VIII. by the lord of the manor that the Walsall burgesses were not free. The chartered rights are stated to date from time immemorial, though the earliest privileges do not seem to go farther back than the grant by the lord of the manor in 1197. The intimate connection between manorial and municipal history has not yet been properly stated, and it is probable that in Walsall we have an example which may throw some light on this interesting subject. Mr. Willmore, however, does not apply himself to this kind of research, his position being that of local historian; and we cannot quarrel with this, because it so often happens that the local historian, badly equipped for general historical studies, leaves important local information unrecorded while he is indulging in theories which do no good.

Mr. Willmore makes most careful use of his documents, and supplies very good references, which he puts as marginal instead of foot notes, a return to an old style of printing which we cannot commend. He is careful also to supply pedigrees of the powerful families, whose members are mentioned as famous in Walsall history, and he also gives one map of old Walsall; as he mentions other maps which are now preserved in Walsall Free Library, we must be pardoned for wishing that he had reproduced one or two of these illustrating the early ground-plans of the town at different decades in its history.

Leaving special features of this book relating to the history of the manor, of the church, the corporation, and the Grammar School, Mr. Willmore devotes about half his volume to the general history of the town, and very interesting this is. During the Civil War, Walsall was very closely connected with the stirring events of the times, siding on the whole with the King's cause, though at the same time producing such men as Captain Henry Stone, Colonel Fox, John Sylvester, and Captain Henry Jackson on the Parliament side. In July, 1643, Queen Henrietta

Maria visited the town after her landing from Holland and she dates one of her letters from thence. As evidence of the town's leaning towards the King, Mr. Willmore notes that the Royalist composition papers contain the names of several of the local gentry upon whom fines were levied, and he quotes some of the petitions sent up to the Parliament authorities. We curiously come across the name here of Symon Montfort. The Walsall Royalists, under Colonel John Lane, marched to join Charles II. at Worcester, but the battle was fought and lost before they reached the army. The King's famous visit to Bentley Hall afterwards is one of the incidents belonging to the history of the neighbourhood, which Mr. Willmore describes. For his information on some of these points of general history, Mr. Willmore relies upon contemporary pamphlets and MS. documents, and every reader will find the narrative fully warranted for by reference to these. Altogether we can confidently recommend this work as a very acceptable addition to our local histories.

The London County Council: Its Duties and Powers.

By GEORGE LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A. (London: David Nutt, 1888.)

By means of this manual the provisions of the new Act of Parliament, as applied to London, are placed at ready disposal. All that perspicuous arrangement can do to make the new Act easy is here accomplished. The provisions are placed under subject-titles in alphabetical order, and along with them are incorporated the duties transferred by the Act from the Metropolitan Board of Works and other governing bodies. In this way the duties and powers of the new Council are most clearly set forth. But although such a practical good has been thus achieved—although the manual is a useful guide for Londoners under the new régime—it is the work of a scholar, and bears the impress of its authorship. The utility of historical investigation is amply illustrated in the valuable introduction to this admirable analysis of the new Act of Parliament. The author begins by remarking that "the only way of adequately dealing with such a concentrated area of human life as London, was by appealing to the highest unit of local government in English institutions, viz., the shire or county." And as a sequel to this, we read near the conclusion a protest that the old English word *shire* was not introduced again into active use; it is pointed out that the verbal distinction between shire and county, if retained, would have marked the real difference "between those County Councils which represent the old shires, pure and simple, and those which represent the Metropolis and large towns which are the outcome of modern times." Again, the author deserves the gratitude of all lovers of London and its history, for the powerful plea which he makes for a more intelligent consideration of historical monuments of all kinds. He points out that the new Council will take over the duty of preserving the Cleopatra's Needle, a monument of great interest, but foreign; while its duties and powers in behalf of English monuments are among the desiderata of the new measure. It is to be hoped that these desiderata, or suggestions by the present author—such as the registration of land titles by the County bodies—will be adopted, to the enhanced completeness of an admirable piece of legislation.

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